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SPECIAL ISSUE

Ukrainians in Canada between the Great War and the Cold War

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Contributors

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Eastern Christian theology and the history and experience of Ukrainian Christianity, and a co-editor of *Windows to the East: Eastern Christians in a Dialogue of Charity* (Novalis, 2001).

Introduction

Most of the articles in this special Ukrainian-Canadian-theme issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* were first presented at the conference titled "A Rock and a Hard Place: Ukrainians in Canada from the Great War to the Cold War" in Edmonton on 11–13 April 2002. Organized by the CIUS's Ukrainian Canadian Programme, this gathering brought together a substantial number of the country's Ukrainian Canadianists, along with a few from further reaches. In the wake of what turned out to be a string of interesting and stimulating sessions, conference organizer Jars Balan and I decided that it would be worthwhile to publish at least part of the proceedings of that event. Hence the call for papers for this special issue.

Our end product is this modest, but vital, addition to the scholarly literature about Ukrainians in Canada. It is something of a truism that a significant amount of the available scholarly work on Ukrainians in Canada has been stimulated by academic conferences or symposia, and this collection is no exception.

The focus of the conference and most of this issue is the interwar period in Ukrainian Canadian life. In her introduction to an earlier Ukrainian-Canadian-theme issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* (vol. 16, nos. 1–2 [Summer–Winter 1991]), Frances Swyripa noted that this era "has been curiously ignored" in contrast to the pioneer era. That issue sought to rectify the problem somewhat by focusing on interwar topics. Since then some important work has been done on the interwar years, but even a dozen years later the collection edited by Dr. Swyripa remains the best single source on Ukrainian life in that period. For this reason, Orest Martynowych's follow-up volume to his *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924*, which will bring the Ukrainian-Canadian story up to 1947, is most welcome and much needed.

The articles in this issue reflect a range of topics and approaches. Two of them deal with the Ukrainian "ballet master" Vasile Avramenko, who was instrumental in popularizing Ukrainian dance in North America.

Orest Martynowych looks at Avramenko's early Canadian period, which witnessed some of his greatest achievements. At the same time, some of Avramenko's problematic character traits that were to cause him and others grief had started to show themselves. The study provides us with a revealing portrait of the man and a look at the events that established the myth.

Andriy Nahachewsky examines Avramenko from the perspective of understanding his approach to Ukrainian dance in both a contemporary and historical context. From his analysis we gain useful insight into the role Avramenko saw for staged Ukrainian dance and the manner in which the base established by him for Ukrainian dance in North America has been supplanted.

Uliana Holowach-Amiot's study of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK/CYMK) provides us with a useful look at the group's early years of development. Moreover, it contributes to our overall knowledge regarding ethnic youth involvement in Canada.

Myroslaw Tataryn's article on Rev. Nicholas Shumsky brings to light the fascinating story of a controversial Ukrainian Catholic clergyman. In it the author demonstrates how Shumsky grappled with some of the issues vexing the Ukrainian Canadian community of his day.

Myron Momryk examines the surveillance of the Ukrainian community by the state security apparatus until the 1960s. The fact that this happened is well known, but the details of how this was carried out have long been hidden from view.

Finally, Lisa Grekul gives us the goods on Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*. In the process, she takes issue with a number of assumptions that have been made in recent (re)interpretations of this groundbreaking novel.

As guest editor, I have the pleasure of thanking our contributors for their valiant efforts. We are all better off for them.

Andrij Makuch

"All That Jazz!" The Avramenko Phenomenon in Canada, 1925–1929

Orest T. Martynowych

When Vasile Avramenko arrived in Halifax aboard the Cunard ocean liner *Aurelia* on 12 December 1925, he was a man on a mission, brimming with confidence and purpose. Neglected and abused as a child, a homeless drifter who had wandered to Vladivostok as an adolescent, and illiterate well into his teens, Avramenko had finally found a purpose in life amid the tumult of the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917–18. During the decade prior to his arrival in Canada, he had learned to read and write, qualified as a primary school teacher, entered the world of the Ukrainian performing arts, and in his capacity as a teacher and interpreter of the Ukrainian folk dance, he had gained entry into the highest echelons of Ukrainian émigré society.[1] Most significantly, he had met the three men whom he would try to emulate for the rest of his life: Vasyl Verkhovynets, who was transforming Ukrainian folk dancing into a performing art; Mykola Sadovsky, the grand old man of Ukrainian popular theatre; and Alexander Koshetz (Oleksander Koshyts), who was leading the Ukrainian National Chorus on a triumphant concert tour of Europe and the Americas.

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1. Avramenko's early life is summarized in Iryna Knysh, *Zhyva dusha narodu: Do iuvileiu ukrainskoho tanku* (Winnipeg: the author, 1966) and Ivan Pihuliak, *Vasyl Avramenko a vidrodzhennia ukrainskoho tanku* (Syracuse: the author, 1979). Researchers may also wish to examine Avramenko's virtually undecipherable handwritten notes, "Moie Zhyttia ta Spohady 1895–1915," at Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Vasile Avramenko Collection, MG 31, D 87, vol. 1, file 10, and the very revealing correspondence with his older sister Liuba Maistrenko in MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 1.

By the time he reached Canada, Avramenko was determined to follow in the footsteps of his heroes by creating a Ukrainian ballet, touring North America with a troupe of dancers, and focusing attention on Ukrainians and their struggle for independence. This was a daunting agenda that would have caused a more circumspect individual to think twice. Nevertheless, during his years in Canada, Avramenko came as close as he ever would to realizing his vision. He taught and popularized Ukrainian folk dancing, toured the Prairie provinces with a dance troupe, generated a great deal of positive publicity for Ukrainians, and became a cultural icon for many in the Ukrainian-Canadian community.[2] In large measure, this success was a matter of timing. Avramenko arrived in Canada at a juncture when Anglo- and Ukrainian-Canadian guardians of middle-class morality were searching for wholesome alternatives to jazz and the shimmy, while Ukrainian-Canadian leaders were also beginning to reflect on cultural assimilation and the place of youth within their own community. Both groups welcomed folk dancing and provided Avramenko with the kind of impetus that launched his career and boosted his reputation.

Success came at a high price. Even at this early point in Avramenko's career the desire to win glory for Ukraine and build a reputation as one of the pre-eminent champions of the Ukrainian cause came to obsess him. It drove Avramenko relentlessly, impeding his evolution as an artist and jeopardizing his financial status. By the time he and his entourage left Canada for the United States, Avramenko was alienating colleagues, borrowing money, and formulating grandiose projects to settle his mounting debts, a pattern that would characterize his career in the years that followed.

I

Avramenko's first Canadian sojourn began in Toronto where his friend Yuri Hassan, a veteran of Koshetz's Ukrainian National Chorus, was directing the Ukrainian People's Home choir. Hassan had put up the money to finance Avramenko's ocean passage, recruited Volodymyr Kukhta (P. W. Koohtow) to publicize his arrival in southern Ontario, and

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2. This article is based primarily on material in the Vasile Avramenko Collection (MG 31, D 87) at LAC in Ottawa, particularly Avramenko's correspondence (vols. 2–10), various announcements, programmes and brochures pertaining to his performances (vol. 12), and records of his schools (vols. 15–16). All of this material is in Ukrainian; quotations have been translated by the author.

persuaded J. S. Atkinson, director of the Canadian Bureau for the Advancement of Music, to facilitate the dancer's entry into Canada.

At the time there were over 200,000 Ukrainians in Canada. Although more than eighty-five percent of them were concentrated in the three Prairie provinces, Avramenko had been told that his prospects would be best in Toronto. The city's Ukrainian labourers and tradesmen had more disposable cash than Prairie homesteaders and southern Ontario was close to the American states with the highest concentration of Ukrainian immigrants. Toronto also seemed to offer Avramenko the brightest prospects because Ukrainian factional disputes were relatively muted in the city. Unlike Winnipeg, with more than 20,000 Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto was not yet divided into warring Catholic, Orthodox, pro-Soviet, and militant nationalist factions.

Aided by Hassan and Kukhta, Avramenko launched his first dance schools in early January 1926. Instruction was offered at St. Mary's Roman Catholic parish hall in downtown Toronto, at St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic parish hall in West Toronto, and at the Hrushevsky Society hall in Oshawa. Several weeks later a fourth school was opened in Toronto for members of the pro-Soviet Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), who did not wish to attend classes with their "nationalist" adversaries. Enrolment totalled about 130 pupils in Toronto and another sixty in Oshawa. The classes attracted Ukrainians of all ages and political and religious persuasions. They included the daughters of the Rev. Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat), a Presbyterian pastor, and most members of the Humeniuk family, including Theodore Humeniuk, Toronto's only Ukrainian lawyer and a leading Ukrainian Orthodox lay activist. Having Crath and Humeniuk among his supporters was a god-send for Avramenko. Crath was a close acquaintance and collaborator of the poet and journalist Florence Randal Livesay, whose *Songs of Ukraina and Ruthenian Poems*, published in 1916, had been the first North American translation of Ukrainian verse. When Avramenko arrived in Toronto, Crath and Humeniuk were helping Livesay translate Kvitka-Osnovianenko's *Marusia*. Soon references to and photographs of Avramenko started to appear in Livesay's articles, providing the dance master with instant credibility.

From the outset, Avramenko wanted to identify the most talented pupils, assemble a dance troupe, recruit singers and instrumentalists, and tour eastern Canada and the northeastern United States. A mere seven weeks after the first dance school opened, Avramenko's pupils were

performing in front of 1,600 spectators at Toronto's Standard Theatre. The reviews were good. The *Toronto Evening Telegram* marvelled at the colourful and beautiful embroidered costumes, the complicated ensemble dances, the exotic and "oriental" motifs that characterized Ukrainian folk dances, the virtuosity of five-year-old female soloists, the "fire and fervour" of the male sword dances, and especially the "wonderful agility and pantomimic grace" of Avramenko when he performed his solo dances. Even when they noted the "tedious rhythm of the music" and observed, "the dancers were at times a little irregular," critics invariably concluded that the "dance was always beautiful." "It is a wonderful thing that Mr. Avramenko has done to bring his people together in this way, and especially to bring out the talent of the little boys and little girls so pleasantly and naturally."[3] Encouraged, Avramenko scheduled almost a dozen performances in Toronto, Oshawa, and Hamilton.

However, plans to tour Canada and the United States had to be postponed. While performing the *hopak* at Toronto's Alhambra Hall on 20 March 1926, Avramenko twisted his right leg for the third time since taking up dancing. The leg was placed in a cast for four weeks and, when this did not help, surgery ensued. As a result, Avramenko was unable to teach until the fall and incapable of performing on stage for almost an entire year. As classes in Avramenko's first dance schools had already come to an end, some of the most talented pupils dispersed across Canada and the United States. In May Victor Moshuk, a young Bukovynian immigrant and one of Avramenko's most accomplished graduates, began to teach at a new school in Toronto's Ukrainian People's Home. Simultaneously, the ULFTA appointed Ivan Grekul, who had graduated from Avramenko's dance school, to organize dance courses in ULFTA halls all across Canada, thereby triggering rancorous competition for pupils, spectators, and revenues.

While convalescing, Avramenko continued to stage dance-school recitals, produced Kotliarevsky's *Natalka Poltavka*, and mounted a *tableau vivant* of Repin's painting *Zaporozhian Cossacks Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan*. In all of these projects, Hassan, Kukhta, and Lev Sorochynsky, another veteran of Koshetz's Ukrainian National Chorus who directed a Ukrainian choir in Rochester, New York, and commuted

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3. *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 25–27 February 1926; *Toronto Daily Star*, 25–26 February 1926.

to Toronto, assisted Avramenko. The highlight and finale of Avramenko's sojourn in Toronto was an appearance by dancers from the Ukrainian People's Home school at the Canadian National Exhibition. From 30 August through 11 September, accompanied by an orchestra and choir, Moshuk's pupils gave twelve brief eight-minute performances on the CNE grandstand, each witnessed by up to 25,000 spectators.[4] When the dancers gave a special performance at the women's pavilion, Florence Randal Livesay was on hand to explain the intricacies of Ukrainian folk dancing and to suggest that Ukrainian music and dance had the potential to inject Canada, which was "so grey, so drab," with colour, laughter and happiness.[5] Not unexpectedly, in the aftermath of the CNE performances, the Ukrainian-Canadian public began to couple Vasile Avramenko's name with that of Alexander Koshetz, who at that very moment was assembling the Ukrainian National Chorus (including Hassan and Sorochynsky) in New York City for one last tour of North America.

By the fall of 1926 articles about Avramenko and his dancers had appeared in every major Ukrainian-Canadian weekly and in many English-language dailies and magazines. Ukrainian newspapers and magazines in Lviv, Kyiv, and Kharkiv had also published articles about him and there were rumours that authorities in Soviet Ukraine wanted Koshetz and Avramenko to return.[6] As Ukrainian Canadians all across

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4. The performance recapitulated Ukraine's historical struggles: "The trumpets sound a call. On the square before the grandstand come in a long snake-like formation men and women, boys and girls. They hold the formation—they gather for a battle with the oncoming Tartar horde! ... Everything seems lost—The little 'Tchumak,' from the time of Catherine the Great, comes out with his funny newly born steps, representing the fate of the Cossacks, who because of overrunning of their country by the horde of Muscovites, had to take up a trade of a free merchant—a 'Tchumak.' His dance brings about a will of the besieged people to fight again, and they form into another group, and with the steps called 'Metelitza' form a sort of a fort; backs to backs, they stand ready to fight again. A salvo of cannon, and around them come ... the Ukrainian knights, the Cossacks. Like a hurricane they fly into the fray and protect their people from the horde! They do the famous sword dance called 'Zaporoshetz.' After this, the people kneel and give praise to the Almighty for deliverance from the foe (Easter khorovod). The Cossacks form a sort of a protective column, and the people joyfully fly back to their homes, in a festival dance called 'Juravelle'" (*Toronto Evening Telegram*, 28 August 1926).

5. *Toronto Daily Star*, 7 September 1926.

6. Hryhorii Hanuliak's letter to Avramenko, 21 October 1926, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 2, file 5; Yuri Hassan's letter to Avramenko, January 1927, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 3.

the Dominion began to take notice of him, Avramenko changed his plans. Instead of leaving Toronto for the United States and making his way toward New York City with a troupe of dancers, Avramenko decided to move to the Prairie provinces where most Ukrainian Canadians lived. He would teach, assemble a new troupe, tour western Canada and then, when the troupe was ready, he would tour eastern Canada and the northeastern United States in preparation for his New York City début.

Avramenko also decided to go west to pre-empt incursions on his turf by local interlopers like ULFTA instructor Ivan Grekul and newcomer Mykhailo Darkovych, who had graduated from Avramenko's dance school in Brest-Litovsk in 1923. Since immigrating to Canada in the spring of 1926, Darkovych had been performing Avramenko dance solos, including *Chumak* and *Za Ukrainu*, offering private dance lessons and preparing to open a Ukrainian dance school in Winnipeg. In Ukraine Avramenko had encouraged his graduates to follow his example by teaching and performing his folk dances and solos wherever the opportunity presented itself, but he showed himself absolutely unwilling to brook competition from such upstarts in North America.[7]

During the second week of October, Avramenko, his manager Kukhta, and assistant dance instructor Moshuk, reached the Lakehead, where they opened Ukrainian dance schools in Prosvita halls and in one ULFTA hall. Although total enrolment in Fort William, West Fort William, and Port Arthur surpassed 250 pupils and was substantially higher than in Toronto, Avramenko was not prepared to linger in northern Ontario. After staging three dance-school recitals in early December, including one at the Orpheum Theatre in Fort William, Avramenko and his instructors moved to Kenora on Lake-of-the-Woods. Here they taught fifty pupils for a month and staged *Natalka Poltavka*.

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7. For Avramenko's correspondence with Darkovych from May through September 1926, see LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 2, files 5 and 6, and vol. 6, file 25. Avramenko offered his first Ukrainian folk dancing course at the internment camp for UNR Army veterans in Kalisz, Poland, in 1921–22. Subsequently he offered courses, which usually lasted for two months, in Lviv (on several occasions in 1922–24); in Lutsk, Rivne, Kremianets, Aleksandriia, and Mezhyriche (between December 1922 and July 1923); in Chełm and Brest-Litovsk (September–October 1923); in Stryi, Przemyśl, Stanyslaviv, Kolomyia, Deliatyn, Ternopil, and Drohobych (spring 1924); in Prague and Poděbrady, Czechoslovakia (1924–25); and in Delmenhorst, Germany (November 1925). Assistants taught many of the courses offered in 1924–25, while Avramenko recuperated from knee injuries sustained during his vigorous performances.

In late November Avramenko and Kukhta visited Winnipeg to attend a performance by Alexander Koshetz and the Ukrainian National Chorus at the Walker Theatre, Winnipeg's most prestigious venue. After the concert Avramenko met with Hassan and Sorochynsky, and exchanged cordialities and posed for photographs with Koshetz. He also delivered a lecture on "The Rebirth of the Ukrainian National Dance" in Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox halls to promote the dance schools he hoped to launch in Winnipeg. By the third week of January 1927, after assembling a group of dancers from northern Ontario, Avramenko and his entourage were ready to make their début in Winnipeg, the city with the largest Ukrainian population in Canada.

Unlike Koshetz and the Ukrainian National Chorus, Avramenko and his dancers did not make their Winnipeg début in the Walker Theatre. Avramenko's pupils, the first Ukrainian entertainers from eastern Canada to perform in the West, took the stage in the decidedly less sumptuous and more austere premises of the Canadian-Ukrainian Institute Prosvita in Winnipeg's North End, the immigrant quarter where most of the city's Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, and Germans lived. Two performances on 22 January publicized his arrival and introduced Avramenko and his repertoire to the Ukrainian public. Reviews in Ukrainian weeklies noted that many of the dances were completely unknown to the audience and reported that Avramenko had delivered a brief speech and a rousing appeal to work for the greater glory of Ukraine.[8] Within a week, 300 pupils had enrolled in Avramenko's School of Ukrainian National Dance, and on 1 February classes commenced on the third floor of Steiman's Hall on Selkirk Avenue. Two weeks later Avramenko opened a second school, attended by about fifty pupils, at the Taras Shevchenko Prosvita hall in the Brooklands, a West End district populated almost exclusively by Ukrainian railway-yard workers.[9] Because the rivalry between

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8. *Kanadyiskyi farmer*, 2 February 1927.

9. The dance courses consisted of twenty-five two-hour lessons at a cost of $5–$10 for pre-schoolers and $15–$30 for adults. Rules and regulations (see MG 31, D 87, vol. 15, file 40) governing the courses stipulated that Ukrainian was the only language of instruction. Regular, punctual attendance and disciplined behaviour were mandatory. Only those who had enrolled could be in the hall during lessons. Gum-chewing, smoking, appearing at lessons in an intoxicated state, wearing hats, using foul language, discussing politics, drinking cold beverages, challenging the instructor's decisions, and talking during lessons were strictly prohibited. Any pupil who violated one of these rules could be expelled and would forfeit his or her tuition fees. Upon completion of the dance course

Avramenko and ULFTA dancers trained by Grekul had become very acrimonious, special courses for members of the pro-Soviet organization were not offered in Winnipeg.

The decision to rent the third floor of Steiman's Hall, which was owned by Jewish immigrants and situated on the North End's major commercial artery, allowed Avramenko to maintain the "diplomatic neutrality" so vital for success in Winnipeg's highly factionalized Ukrainian community. It also provided him with a very convenient central location. Soon every Ukrainian in Winnipeg knew that Avramenko had arrived in the city and that he was offering dance classes and preparing to perform on the stage after a one-year hiatus. Once again Avramenko's pupils represented all religious and most political persuasions and included the children of every prominent Ukrainian businessman, professional, and politician in the city. To cope with the large enrolment, Avramenko added a new dance instructor. Ivan Pihuliak, who joined the entourage, had been a student activist at the University of Chernivtsi and the editor of a literary monthly. He had completed Avramenko's dance course in Fort William, where he had been teaching in a Ukrainian evening school since immigrating to Canada in 1924. For the next seven years Pihuliak, who was well educated, highly disciplined, and financially responsible, would be Avramenko's most important and efficient collaborator.

Avramenko spent the next four months teaching, collecting information on Ukrainian folk dances, and preparing a new stage spectacle entitled *Dovbusheva nich* (Dovbush's Night) about the western Ukrainian "social bandit" and folk hero Oleksa Dovbush. He also received Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders and several non-Ukrainians, including public school teachers and administrators who were contemplating the introduction of folk dancing classes into the school curriculum. During the last week of February Avramenko traveled to Port Arthur and performed his solo *Hore Izraielia* (Israel's Woe) at a school recital in the Lyceum Theatre.[10] The reviews of his first stage performance in

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pupils were required to take an examination and, if successful, received a certificate (*svidotstvo*). Avramenko and his instructors usually taught their pupils ten to twelve dances. These included *Velykodnia haivka, Kozachok podilskyi, Kolomyika, Zhuravel, Kateryna, Hopak kolom, Zaporozhskyi herts, Arkan, Hrechanyky, Zhenchychok, Metelytsia, Honyviter,* and *Chumachok.*

10. Avramenko choreographed several solo dances for himself including *Gonta, Chumak, Za Ukrainu,* and *Hore Izraielia.* The last attempted to evoke the centuries-long

more than eleven months were encouraging. Two months later, on 30 April, Avramenko presented a "Pageant of Historical and Festival Dances" featuring 275 pupils at Winnipeg's Amphitheatre, a venue usually reserved for hockey games and political conventions. The pageant featured a demonstration of dance techniques and exercises, a school recital, and a finale in which Avramenko performed his solo *Chumak*.[11] Finally, on 3–4 June, Avramenko staged a lavish and ambitious production at the Pantages Playhouse Theatre. In addition to festive Easter dances and a suite of six traditional folk dances, the performance also included Avramenko's solo *Gonta*, a *tableau vivant* based on Repin's painting, and six traditional songs performed by the Ukrainian National Home Association choir conducted by Ievhen Turula. The *Manitoba Free Press* described the event as "a veritable feast of song, colour, grace and rhythmic gorgeousness" and concluded that Avramenko was "peculiarly successful in instilling in his pupils all the sparkle, fire and symbolism of those very wonderful dances."[12]

During the first week of May Avramenko, Pihuliak, and Moshuk travelled to Saskatoon and Edmonton, delivering lectures and establishing Schools of Ukrainian National Dance. While Pihuliak remained in Saskatoon, where he taught 130 pupils at the Ukrainian National Home and Prosvita Society halls and forty pupils at the Mohyla Institute, a student residence affiliated with the Ukrainian Orthodox community, Moshuk taught one hundred pupils in Edmonton. Avramenko returned to Winnipeg and launched "advanced" dance classes at Steiman's Hall but had trouble attracting pupils because high school examinations were approaching. By the end of June recitals featuring Avramenko and local choirs had been staged in major venues in Saskatoon and Edmonton. On 1 July 1927 Ukrainian folk dancers under Avramenko, Pihuliak, and Moshuk performed in massive public celebrations marking the Diamond Jubilee of Canadian Confederation at Winnipeg's Assiniboine Park, Saskatoon's Exhibition Grounds, and Edmonton's Victoria Park. During the next few weeks Moshuk and Pihuliak also performed in a number of rural Ukrainian areas with small groups of their best pupils. A performance in Vegreville, Alberta, on 4 July, was especially successful. Some

plight of the Jewish diaspora and expressed Avramenko's belief that Ukrainians understood Jews because they shared a similar tragic history.

11. *Manitoba Free Press*, 2 May 1927; *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, 2 and 4 May 1927.

12. *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 June 1927.

Ukrainian farmers travelled eighty miles to see the show. The audience was very enthusiastic and the only regret was that Avramenko had not been present. While there were few Anglo-Canadians in attendance, those who came said they had never attended a more enjoyable performance.[13]

After eighteen months in Canada Avramenko was eager to tour with a troupe of dancers, singers, and instrumentalists. In the summer of 1927 everything finally fell into place. His leg had healed and had been tested on the stage. Most Ukrainian Canadians had heard or read about his dancers and several Prairie communities had expressed interest in seeing the dancers perform. The talent required to form a troupe was also available. Winnipeg had its share of talented singers, dancers, and instrumentalists and after Koshetz's final tour of North America came to a premature end in May 1927, Hassan and Sorochynsky were persuaded to join Avramenko. Finally, early in July, Andrii Kist, the last important member of Avramenko's entourage came to Canada from Czechoslovakia. Close friends since 1917, Kist and Avramenko had served in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, toured with Iosyf Stadnyk's theatre, and crossed paths again in 1924 in Poděbrady, where Kist had been studying agricultural economics. Blessed with a good voice, able to play the bandura, and much more accomplished with pen and ink and a typewriter than Avramenko, Kist had been admitted to Canada (once again with the aid of J. S. Atkinson) to work for the School of Ukrainian National Dance as a secretary, administrator, singer, and instrumentalist.

When the spring and summer dance classes in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton came to an end in late July, Avramenko focused on touring for the remainder of the year. A brief trial tour was scheduled for the first two weeks of August and then, after his troupe in Winnipeg was reorganized, a second much more ambitious tour was launched in late September. Prior to both tours the Prairies were flooded with leaflets, handbills, and posters that attempted to entice prospective spectators with promises of "Girls that whirl and spin before their partners like the winds that wave the grasses of the steppes." These would be Avramenko's first and last tours of Canada and, ironically, the longest tours of his career.

The first tour, 1–13 August, featured a troupe composed of three instrumentalists, two five-year-old dance soloists, and twelve adult singers

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13. Yuri Hassan's letter to Avramenko, 4 July 1927, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 3.

and dancers, including Hassan, Sorochynsky, Kukhta, and Kist. Eleven two-hour performances were staged in nine towns and cities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[14] Only in Regina, where it gave three performances, was the troupe booked into a real theatre. In Yorkton, the mayor, physician, and several English-speaking guests attended the performance and expressed their admiration for the troupe. Reports in the Ukrainian press stressed the new-found respect that the Ukrainian performing arts and culture were acquiring as a result of Avramenko's work.

The fall tour, which began on 28 September, included fifty-two performances in forty-eight Prairie centres.[15] With the exception of Portage la Prairie, Saskatoon, Prince Albert, Edmonton, Calgary, and Moose Jaw, all the performances were in small railway towns in the middle of remote Ukrainian rural bloc settlements. As Hassan, Kukhta, and Sorochynsky had left Winnipeg to pursue other opportunities, the second troupe consisted primarily of Winnipeggers, many of whom had already toured in August.[16] In small rural communities some of the

14. The tour included Brandon, Regina, Melville, Yorkton, Sheho, Canora, Arran, Dauphin, and Oakburn.

15. The date and place of performance were as follows: 28 September, Portage la Prairie MB; 29 September, Shoal Lake MB; 30 September, Russell MB; 1 and 2 October, Rossburn MB; 4 October, Donwell SK; 5 October, Calder SK; 6 October, Kamsack SK; 7 October, Roblin MB; 8 October, Sifton MB; 10 October, Ethelbert MB; 11 October, Pine River MB; 12 October, Swan River MB; 13 October, Norquay SK; 14 October, Goodeve SK; 15 October, Ituna SK; 17 October, Theodore SK; 18 October, Foam Lake SK; 20 and 24 October, Saskatoon SK; 25 October, Vonda SK; 26 October, Meacham SK; 27 October, Wakaw SK; 28 October, Tarnopol SK; 29 and 30 October, Cudworth SK; 1 November, Prince Albert SK; 2 November, Krydor SK; 3 November, Hafford SK; 4 November, Radisson SK; 6 November, Whitkow SK; 7 November, Lloydminster SK; 8 November, Vermillion AB; 9 November, Innisfree AB; 10 November, Vegreville AB; 11 November, Mundare AB; 12 November, Lamont AB; 13 November, Zawale AB; 14 November, Bruderheim AB; 15 November, Edmonton AB; 19 November, Redwater AB; 20 November, Egremont AB; 21 November, Bellis AB; 22 November, Radway Centre AB; 23 November, Smoky Lake AB; 24 November, Leduc AB; 26 November, Edmonton AB; 29 November, Calgary AB; 30 November, Moose Jaw SK; 1 December, Moose Jaw SK; 2 December, Melville SK; 3 December, Yorkton SK; 5 December, Canora SK.

16. The performers included female dancers Pauline Garbolinsky, Olga Kowbel, Anna Kharysh, and Evdokia Pavliukevych; male dancers Avramenko, Pihuliak, Ivan Pasichniak, and Volodymyr Pylypchak; child soloists Halia Tychowecka and Pavlyk Trach; and instrumentalists Ivan Fil on violin, Ihnatii Gronitsky on dulcimer, and Kist, who used the pseudonym A. Wasilko, on bandura. In one segment of the performance, Pasichniak and Pylypchak also played the mandolin and guitar, while the women, featuring vocal soloist Evdokia Pavliukevych, sang Ukrainian folk songs.

performances created a veritable sensation because the local people had never seen folk dances performed on stage and were unfamiliar with many of the dances presented.[17] The Ukrainian press continued to praise the good public relations and the respect for Ukrainian performing arts and culture that Avramenko was promoting. A Smoky Lake correspondent stressed the "high moral quality" of the dances and Avramenko's oratorical and declamatory abilities that moved old men to tears.[18] According to the *Edmonton Journal,* "The dancers made a colourful picture and their dancing was a revelation. Grace of movement, poise and skill were evidenced in a high degree. They seemed to live the rhythm of the music, and from the beginning to the end of the dances, never missed a beat. The music for the dancing was supplied by a violin and dulcimer, and was full of life and fire."[19]

On 6 December Avramenko's troupe returned to Winnipeg. Within a week a decision had been made to organize a second round of dance schools in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Avramenko, assisted by Kist, would teach in Saskatoon and Edmonton, while Pihuliak would offer dance classes in Yorkton and Canora. By 20 December Avramenko and Kist were in Saskatoon, where they found accommodation at the Mohyla Institute. Dance classes commenced at the Regent Hall in Saskatoon and in Edmonton during the week of 10 January 1928. Enrolment was about ninety in Edmonton and 110 in Saskatoon. Simultaneously, Pihuliak launched dance classes in Yorkton and Canora, attracting about fifty pupils in each town. Unfortunately, enrolment in both rural centres declined during the next two months. A special course at the Ukrainian Catholic St. Joseph's College in Yorkton had to be cancelled when one of the Christian Brothers who taught in the school forbade male students to have any physical contact with girls during dance classes. In Canora controversy erupted in February when parents of Ukrainian Orthodox pupils took exception to rehearsals and a recital during Lent.[20]

17. Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada: The First Fifty Years, 1924–1974," in *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyj (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 129.

18. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 11 January 1928.

19. *Edmonton Journal*, 27 November 1927.

20. On St. Joseph's College, see *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 February 1928; on the controversy in Canora see LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 16, file 15.

For Avramenko the winter of 1928 was an extremely hectic and stressful period. Although Kist now took care of administration and handled all of the correspondence, Avramenko still had more work than he could handle. For more than two months he commuted between Edmonton and Saskatoon and occasionally visited Pihuliak in Yorkton and Canora. He helped prepare Ukrainian Independence Day commemorations in Edmonton and participated in the production of two comedies at the Hrushevsky Institute. Because more than twenty rural public school teachers were attending his Edmonton classes, Avramenko gave them extra lessons so they could teach Ukrainian folk dancing when they returned to their schools.[21] For their benefit, and for all graduates, Avramenko, Pihuliak, and Kist prepared and published a thin volume, *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky* (Ukrainian National Dances), describing all the dances taught by Avramenko. On top of everything, Avramenko had to prepare, coordinate, and perform at recitals scheduled for March, and then examine pupils in all four communities. As a result, by February he was ill, suffering from fatigue, and extremely high-strung. Acquaintances reported that Avramenko was very nervous, extremely argumentative, and rapidly acquiring a reputation as an eccentric.[22]

Rumours about his personal life were also beginning to take a toll on Avramenko. Since the spring of 1927 his name had been linked romantically with that of eighteen-year-old Pauline Garbolinsky, a native of Winnipeg and one of his star dance pupils. Avramenko had given Pauline private lessons, asked her to help teach his youngest pupils, included her in the two troupes that had toured the Prairie provinces, and invited her to accompany him and Kist to Saskatoon in December 1927. In no time Winnipeg gossipmongers, who had speculated that Avramenko and Pauline cohabited when they were on tour, were writing to Saskatoon to inquire about the couple. By February 1928, when Pauline moved to Edmonton to teach the youngest pupils, Winnipeg was abuzz with rumours that she was living in sin with Avramenko. To complicate

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21. It appears that such teachers were expected to forward twenty-five percent of their earnings to Avramenko and could issue certificates only after Avramenko or one of his authorized assistants had examined their pupils. See Kist's letter to Avramenko, 24 July and 8 August 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 12, and Avramenko's letter to Pihuliak, 12 February 1929, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 18.

22. See, for example, the correspondence between Pihuliak and Kist, 26 and 30 January 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 17.

matters, when Avramenko's friends got wind of the rumours they urged him to act honourably and marry Pauline because her reputation had been ruined. Kist went so far as to suggest that should Avramenko abandon Pauline, he would embitter and alienate many like her from the cause of "holy Ukraine." Avramenko explained that for the present he simply wanted to help Pauline lift herself above the lot of most Ukrainian girls and insisted that his behaviour had been beyond reproach and that he intended to marry her. His answer seemed to satisfy no one and when Pauline, Avramenko, and Kist returned to Winnipeg in April, malicious tongues continued to wag and spread rumours about the couple.[23]

During these hectic months Avramenko and Kukhta also began to plan a tour of eastern Canada and the United States. Avramenko hoped to offer special performers' classes in Winnipeg during the spring, commission props and stage decorations, and assemble a new troupe of at least twenty-five dancers, singers, and instrumentalists. Unfortunately, when he returned to Winnipeg things did not go according to plan. The special performers' classes generated little interest and when the school reopened in late April, only beginners' and advanced classes were offered in the smaller Ukrainian Reading Association Prosvita hall.

By the time the classes got under way Avramenko was considering a new option. In mid-April a Ukrainian women's committee in Chicago had invited Avramenko to perform at the Chicago Women's World Fair. The committee indicated that it was already advertising Avramenko and his dancers as "one of the most famous old-world dancing troupes on this continent."[24] This was an offer that Avramenko could not refuse. He had been itching to move to the United States and appear on Broadway. Because he was not a Canadian citizen, American immigration officials asked for guarantees that Avramenko would be readmitted into Canada and demanded that a $500 bond be posted. Within a month all of the formalities had been ironed out, and on 23 May 1928, Avramenko and Kukhta left Winnipeg and entered the United States on a six-month artist's visa. Although he was unable to take a troupe or any of his dance pupils to Chicago, Avramenko hoped that Kist and Pihuliak, who remained in Canada, would assemble a troupe and finance an American

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23. For this episode, see the correspondence in the following files: LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 3 (Hassan); vol. 8, file 12 (Kist); and vol. 9, file 17 (Pihuliak).

24. See the correspondence between Stephanie Cymbalist and Avramenko, 10 and 18 April 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 7, file 25.

tour. On 26 May, the day after Avramenko's solo performance at the Women's World Fair, Pauline Garbolinsky left her parents' home and joined Avramenko in Chicago. Three weeks later, on 16 June 1928, they were married in a Ukrainian Orthodox ceremony in Chicago. Their only daughter, Oksana, would be born in March 1929 in New York City.

During the next few months, while Avramenko, Pauline, and Kukhta offered Ukrainian dance classes in Detroit and Cleveland and then moved to New York City in December 1928, Avramenko's School of Ukrainian National Dance continued to operate in Canada. In Winnipeg Kist, the administrator, held down the fort, and Ivan Pasichniak offered dance classes. Pihuliak spent the spring and summer of 1928 in Alberta, teaching and touring in the Vegreville, Innisfree, and Shandro districts. Elsewhere, Moshuk taught in Toronto, Stefan Yemchuk in Fort William, and Sam Hancharyk in Kenora. In addition, at least a dozen Prairie public-school teachers who had taken classes in Saskatoon and Edmonton during the past two years taught Ukrainian folk dancing in rural Saskatchewan and Alberta. In September Pihuliak and Kist moved to Windsor, where at least fifty pupils attended dance classes until December. When Kist joined Avramenko and Pauline in New York City, after Kukhta decided to return to Canada, Pihuliak proceeded to Montreal.

Montreal was the last major Canadian urban centre with a large Ukrainian population to host Avramenko or one of his authorized instructors. For three months Pihuliak taught more than a hundred pupils in two schools, one Ukrainian Catholic, the other Ukrainian Orthodox. The recital he staged at the Princess Theatre on 14 April 1929 was a moral victory. He had to compete not only with a local ULFTA dance school but also with the Isadora Duncan Dancers, featuring the late Isadora's adopted daughter Irma Duncan, which the Princess Theatre booked for a one-week engagement. The arrival of the celebrated company, which had been based in Moscow, earned good reviews in New York City, and enjoyed the support of many ethnic and leftist organizations in Montreal, threatened to take the wind out of ticket sales for Pihuliak's recital and confuse the non-Ukrainian public on whose attendance Pihuliak counted.[25] Fortunately, Pihuliak almost filled the house, a majority of the spectators were non-Ukrainians, and the reviews

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25. See Pihuliak's letters to various associates commencing on 30 March 1929 in LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 19.

were very good. The *Montreal Gazette* praised the performance for its "rare sincerity and charm," reported that "the skill with which [the dances] were performed ... was of a very high order," and concluded that "New Canadians, like last night's dancers, who are keeping alive in their new home the beauty of the land from which they came, are making a very real contribution to the life of the country and thoroughly deserve the warm reception that was accorded them."[26]

Pihuliak did not have time to celebrate. Avramenko was preparing for his New York début at the Star Casino on the Upper West Side and desperately needed Pihuliak's help. When Pihuliak crossed the border and entered the United States on 29 April 1929, the first chapter of Avramenko's relationship with Ukrainian Canadians came to an end.[27]

II

At first glance, Avramenko's first sojourn in Canada was an unqualified success. In three years he and his instructors had established Schools of Ukrainian National Dance in five provinces and the country's three largest cities, they had offered instruction to more than 2,000 pupils, toured the Prairies, and demonstrated that Ukrainian folk dancing had the potential to become not only a popular recreational activity but also a performing art. They had also generated a great deal of positive press and publicity for the Ukrainian folk arts and Ukrainian Canadians in general. In terms of sheer quantity and consistency, Avramenko had generated much more publicity in Canada than Alexander Koshetz and the Ukrainian National Chorus. While Koshetz and his chorus had received nothing but rave reviews, they had performed in Canada on only two occasions, in 1923 and 1926, and both times only in Toronto and

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26. *Montreal Gazette*, 15 April 1929.

27. During the 1930s Avramenko authorized several instructors to offer dance courses in Ontario and Quebec. He returned to Canada in September 1937 to raise money for his second feature film, *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*. Although the movie was produced by the Winnipeg-based Avramenko Film Company Limited and featured Ukrainian-Canadians in bit parts and dance numbers, it was filmed in New Jersey during the summer of 1938. By the spring of 1939, Avramenko had returned to New York City. For more on this episode, see Bohdan Y. Nebesio, "*Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* (1938): The Production of the First Ukrainian-Language Feature Film in Canada," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1991): 115–30. For Avramenko's relations with the cult figure who directed both of his feature films see Peter Bogdanovich, "Edgar G. Ulmer: An Interview," *Film Culture* 58–60 (1974), especially pp. 209–16.

Winnipeg. Avramenko had managed to generate good press in five provinces for almost three years.

When he made New York City his new home, Avramenko was already a phenomenon in the Ukrainian-Canadian community. He was an idol of teenage girls, a model for community leaders, and an example of how the folk arts could be used to preserve Ukrainian identity and mobilize and promote the community. Seventeen-year-old Olena Serdechna, a resident of Kenora, Ontario, who was clearly smitten, wrote Avramenko that she thought about him every day and dreamt about attending his classes and dancing with him every night. Her heart had "stopped beating" when she heard Avramenko was ill and she prayed for his success every day.[28] Petro Bilon, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, compared Avramenko to Koshetz and insisted that both were geniuses.[29] Ivan Bodrug, a Protestant pastor, believed that God had sent Avramenko to Canada to save "the Ukrainian spirit from drowning prematurely in the great English sea." Avramenko had been sent by Providence "to renew the spirit of Ukraine among Ukrainian immigrants in North America."[30] Nykyfor Hryhoriiv, a Socialist Revolutionary politician and publicist based in Prague, who traveled across Canada in 1928, reported that there was not one rural Ukrainian home that did not display a memento of Avramenko and his dancers.[31] While reports of this kind exaggerated his impact, and ignored the unprecedented advertising campaigns mounted by Avramenko and his colleagues, it is clear that by 1929 Avramenko had become a cultural icon.

To understand the emergence of the Avramenko phenomenon in Canada during these years, it is necessary to realize that he arrived at a critical juncture in the history of both the Ukrainian-Canadian community and North American popular culture. As a result, Avramenko's career received the kind of impetus that may not have been available under different circumstances.

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28. Olena Serdechna's letter to Avramenko, 26 January–20 February 1927, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 28.

29. Petro Bilon's letter to Avramenko, 11 April 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 2, file 12.

30. Ivan Bodrug's letter to Avramenko, 24 February 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 2, file 10.

31. As related in Andrii Kist's letter to Avramenko, 30 December 1930, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 14.

By the mid-1920s, almost sixty percent of the Ukrainian-Canadian population had been born in Canada, and thirty percent lived in urban centres. Because Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders had been preoccupied with disputes about religion and Old Country politics they had neglected to create an organizational and cultural infrastructure for the Canadian-born. Apart from ULFTA-sponsored mandolin orchestras and youth groups, there were few if any Ukrainian-Canadian youth clubs or organizations in 1926. By the 1920s urban youth, in particular, was losing fluency in the Ukrainian language, and young people who were fed up with the denominational bickering of their elders were becoming alienated from the immigrant community. While traditional Ukrainian-Canadian diversions like amateur theatricals remained popular and provided entertainment for the older generation and the 70,000 new-comers who would reach Canadian shores between 1925 and 1930, they had little appeal for Canadian-born and Canadian-educated youth. Commercial radio, phonograph records, and motion pictures starring Hollywood celebrities exerted a greater attraction than incomprehensible plays set in a distant and foreign land and staged in community halls or church basements.

Even more noteworthy was the fact that by the mid-1920s jass, which had originated in the red-light districts of New Orleans, and watered-down versions of Black American social dances like the cakewalk, the turkey trot, the black bottom, the shimmy and the charleston, all of them characterized by rhythmic and throbbing music and spontaneous and sensuous motions, had managed to penetrate the Ukrainian-Canadian community, including the few small and rather exclusive institutions and organizations that catered to Ukrainian-Canadian youth.[32] Ukrainian community leaders, who were beginning to realize that something had to be done for the Canadian-born, were now also overwhelmed by the same

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32. "Our weddings and other pastimes are accompanied by the bellowing of modern jazz rather than the sounds of our native music," lamented Peter Lazarowich and Honore Ewach. As a result, *kolomyiky*, *kozachky* and other forms of Ukrainian instrumental and dance music were threatened with extinction. Previously, traditional Ukrainian melodies and the instrumentalists who performed them were well known in Canada, "however, since jazz became the ideal inducement to dance, all of these old musicians have fallen silent." Now a musician who dared to play a *kolomyika* in public would only provoke laughter ("V spravi ridnoi muzyky," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 17 November 1926).

sense of moral panic that had been provoked by the Jazz Age among guardians of middle-class morality all across North America.[33]

For example, on 30 April 1927, Julian Stechishin, rector of the Mohyla Institute, attended a student dance in Edmonton. After the dance, Stechishin wrote in his journal that the students at the Edmonton branch of the Institute were a "lost cause": "Jazz and jazz and nothing else. I tried to initiate a Ukrainian dance, but it was absolutely impossible. They move about the floor just as if they were all insane. I admonished one of them to dance in a more decent fashion, but he just stared me down.... When he started making excuses I told him I would return his fifty-cent admission and throw him out. Later I had to admonish another one. That put an end to the trouble on this occasion, but they could not be persuaded to entertain themselves after our fashion or even try one of our dances."[34]

As fate would have it, a week later, on 8 May 1927, Avramenko, who was about to launch a dance school in Saskatoon, gave a public lecture. It was the same homily he delivered in every community he visited. Dance, Avramenko insisted, had the power to raise national consciousness; it could vanquish hopelessness and despair and harden national resolve. It had the power to galvanize the Ukrainian people, who were divided and oppressed by four foreign states, and awaken their determination to fight. In fact, Ukrainian folk dancing and the struggle for liberation went hand in hand. This was the reason, Avramenko suggested, why the Poles and Czechs had been so frightened when he performed *Gonta* and *Zaporozhets*. "When we put on our national costume and dance the *Kolomyika* our enemies ... begin to worry." Moreover, Ukrainian folk dancing and the Ukrainian national costume were the greatest barriers to the alienation and assimilation of youth: "If your little boy, who is growing up in a foreign land, learns to dance the *Zaporizkyi*

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33. The moral panic provoked by jazz has been described in the following terms: "The dancers were close, the steps were fast, and the music was jazz. And because popular forms of dancing were intimate and contorting, and the music was rhythmic and throbbing, it called down upon itself all the venom of offended respectability. Administrative officials as well as women's clubs and city fathers found the dancing provocative and indecent and tried at least to stop the young from engaging in its most egregious forms, if not from the dances entirely. But the young kept on dancing" (Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977], especially pp. 300–6).

34. Diary, LAC, Julian Stechishin Collection, MG 30, D 307, vol. 1, file 10, acc. 84/392. All passages from the diary have been translated from Ukrainian by the author.

kozak, he will know for the rest of his life that he is a Ukrainian." Avramenko concluded by vowing to use Ukrainian folk dancing and the folk arts to awaken the elemental love for Ukraine that was dormant deep within the hearts of Ukrainian youth in North America.[35]

Avramenko's speech offered a quick fix, an activity around which young people could be rallied and mobilized. Stechishin was fascinated by the lecture and concluded that here was at least part of the answer to the problem posed by Ukrainian-Canadian youth. Avramenko's thoughts on dance and its relation to national consciousness, and his unambiguous rejection of "all kinds of modern dances and ... jazz music" were especially welcome.[36] After the lecture Stechishin endorsed Avramenko's plans and urged those in attendance to enrol in Avramenko's school. For the rest of his life Julian Stechishin would remain one of Avramenko's staunchest supporters.

Avramenko's popularity among Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders was greatly enhanced by the ringing endorsements of his dance recitals published in the English-language press. Revealingly, these often praised Ukrainian folk dances precisely because they were so unlike the modern popular dances—especially the charleston and the shimmy—that scandalized some Canadians. Reviews of Avramenko's performances featured headlines like "High steppers from the steppes ... outdo the Charleston"[37] and suggested that Ukrainian dancing was pure, virtuous, decorous, and worthy of absorption into the fabric of Canadian life:

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35. The speech was published in *Preriia: Kanadyiskyi almanakh* (Winnipeg: Tovarystvo opiky nad ukrainskymy pereselentsiamy im. sv. Rafaila v Kanadi, 1928).

36. It is interesting to note that concern about the dangers posed by jazz and the shimmy were not confined to middle-class Ukrainian-Canadian community activists. In January 1928 Avramenko received several letters from the aging Ukrainian émigré philanthropist and publisher Ievhen Chykalenko, whom he had last seen in Poděbrady, near Prague in 1925. Chykalenko cautioned Avramenko to avoid arguments with pro-Soviet Ukrainians in Canada and then explained why he wanted him to remain on good terms with supporters of a regime that had driven both of them into exile: "It is absolutely imperative that you return to Ukraine, conquer all of our youth between the Zbruch and the Kuban rivers with your dances, and thereby reclaim them from all kinds of 'shimmies' for our own (*ridni*) dances." If Avramenko quarrelled with pro-Soviet Ukrainian Canadians he would not see Ukraine as long as the Bolsheviks remained in power and as a result traditional Ukrainian folk dancing would be swept aside by modern social dances (Ievhen Chykalenko's letter to Avramenko, 10 January 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 7, file 24).

37. *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 25 February 1926.

"When the Ukrainians dance they dance as the winds that wave the grasses of the steppes," the *Toronto Evening Telegram* had written. "No nigger acrobatics. No hugging matches. Hands and arms are used sparingly. They dance with their feet, which, after all, seems a natural way to dance. But how they can dance.... There was much vigour and no vulgarity. Suggestion was a million miles away. They danced as David might have danced before the Lord. Some of the best dancing was like the best Ukrainian singing, done by groups of men, or by girls singly or in pairs.... Old Ukraine will live forever in new Canada while such good work continues."[38]

Such reviews marked a sharp departure in the popular Canadian perception of Ukrainians. Previously, Ukrainians and their popular culture had been perceived as a threat to lofty British and Protestant moral standards. Ukrainian dancing in particular had been the object of much opprobrium. Protestant missionaries and earnest public-school teachers bent on Canadianizing immigrants routinely lamented that at Ukrainian weddings and other festive occasions "the attitudes and poses of the dancers are anything but elevating."[39] Now Ukrainian folk dancing was being touted by the mainstream press as a socially and culturally acceptable activity, as a pastime capable of upholding rather than destroying the moral standards on which British and Canadian civilization rested.

Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders like Julian Stechishin, who yearned for positive recognition, welcomed such reviews and cheered Avramenko. After the 25 June 1927 performance at the Pantages Theatre in Edmonton, Stechishin was absolutely delighted. His journal contains the following observations: "I was extremely satisfied because I sensed that the public, which included many Englishmen, enjoyed the performance. Perhaps this will improve their perception of us at least partly. After the performance Avramenko spoke to his pupils. He spoke with great passion and delivered a very patriotic speech. He stated that our people must do everything to gain glory for our nation. He introduces our culture to foreigners, thereby acquainting them with us through the medium of the dance, which is a unique Ukrainian art form. He concluded his speech by appealing to his pupils not to forget their dances and to reject foreign

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38. *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 27 February 1926.

39. Cited in Vivian Olender, "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation, 1900–1925," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 7, no. 2 (Fall 1982): 68.

jazz and unaesthetic contortions."[40] A week later, after the Dominion Day performance at Victoria Park, Stechishin could barely contain himself: "Our dances during the finale were so good that the English shouted 'Good for Ukrainians. Last and best!'... We represented ourselves in a manner that made us proud. We sensed that we had performed so well that the English, had they not been embarrassed [by their own inadequacies], would have praised our numbers much more than their own. That day, in the evening, everyone was happy."[41]

In spite of his flaws, and there were many, in the late 1920s Vasile Avramenko emerged as a genuine icon for many Ukrainian Canadians because, for a brief moment, he had managed to make many of them feel good about themselves.

A closer examination of the Avramenko phenomenon reveals deep cracks beneath the surface. Avramenko's personal identity and his sense of self-esteem grew out of his involvement in the Ukrainian revolution and struggle for independence. It was the role he had found for himself during those years, as a performer and above all as a propagandist and missionary of the "Ukrainian cause," which endowed him with a sense of belonging and gave meaning to his life. At the same time, the conviction that his dances could save immigrant youth from assimilation and promote the cause of Ukrainian independence drove him so relentlessly and made him so overbearing that it alienated his closest friends, impeded his growth as an artist, subverted his plans to publicize the Ukrainian cause, and threatened to destroy him financially.

From the outset, Avramenko subordinated the art or craft of the dance to the imperatives of nationalist propaganda. He saw himself primarily as someone uniquely able to generate positive publicity for Ukrainians and promote a sense of Ukrainian identity and pride among Ukrainian-Canadian youth. A gifted, untrained dancer, Avramenko lacked patience and discipline and spent little time honing his craft. By 1928 he was no longer preparing any new material for the dance ensembles he hoped to lead on triumphant tours. Admittedly, many of the performances he staged in Canada during these years received good reviews, especially in newspapers like the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, which had traditionally

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40. Diary, Julian Stechishin Collection, LAC, MG 30, D 307, vol. 1, file 11, acc. 84/392.

41. Ibid.

appealed to an unsophisticated public.[42] However, even these reviews invariably focused on the "oriental" exoticism of the performances, the colourful and picturesque costumes, and the artless and spontaneous quality of the performers, who behaved on stage as peasants might behave on the village green. All reviews also singled out the cute five- and six-year-old soloists that Avramenko featured in every major performance. Avramenko's solo dances were also reviewed positively, but it was the wild, unrestrained energy and agility that he brought to his performances, rather than their aesthetic qualities that seemed to draw the attention of the reviewers.

Forthright friends and colleagues urged Avramenko to pay more attention to his craft and warned that his approach would ultimately prove to be self-defeating. Ivan Bobersky had remarked that Avramenko's *Gonta* solo, for all its bravura and complexity, was an incomplete work that desperately needed a much more subtle and shaded musical arrangement.[43] Shortly before they left for the United States in 1928, Kukhta told Avramenko that his repertoire was primitive and contained little more than the kernel of a ballet.[44] Bobersky also observed that Avramenko's dance schools focused on producing good Ukrainians rather than skilled dancers and as a result many of his pupils were ponderous and inflexible when they appeared on stage. Such ensembles might promote Ukrainian identity among the Canadian-born and their performances might stir nostalgia in Ukrainian audiences, but they were of little interest to non-Ukrainians who valued dance for its aesthetic qualities. He also suggested that if Avramenko really wanted to captivate sophisticated audiences with the beauty of the Ukrainian dance, he would have to put together an ensemble composed of accomplished dancers with beautiful faces, attractive figures, supple bodies, and refined movements and provide them with sophisticated choreography and musical arrangements.[45] Both men urged Avramenko to choreograph at least a few dances with North American content that might resonate with non-

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42. Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982), 56.

43. Review in *Kanadyiskyi farmer*, 29 June 1927.

44. Volodymyr Kukhta's letter to Avramenko, 15 January 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 25.

45. Ivan Bobersky's lettter to Avramenko, 19 April 1929, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 7, file 19.

Ukrainian audiences and make them more open and receptive to Ukrainian dance.[46] Avramenko listened but never acted on any of these suggestions. With a repertoire consisting of fifteen ensemble dances and three or four solos, all performed to music that many reviewers described as tedious, repetitive, and monotonous, Avramenko had little hope of succeeding on the provincial stage, much less on Broadway.

Avramenko's overbearing missionary nationalism also alienated friends, colleagues, and pupils. Even minor lapses of national rectitude provoked Avramenko's wrath. He declared "there is only room for Ukrainians in my school," berated members of the troupe who dared to utter so much as one word of English during the 1927 tours and constantly lectured everyone within earshot on how to be a "good Ukrainian." Lev Sorochynsky, who took exception to Avramenko's views and lectures because he had been turning down lucrative job offers for eighteen years to work with Ukrainians, left the summer 1927 tour in disgust.[47] Avramenko would not be deterred. During the winter of 1928 he stunned Kist by questioning Pauline's commitment to the "Ukrainian cause" after she exchanged a few English phrases with her Canadian-born friends. Such behaviour, Avramenko implied, was a "betrayal of Ukraine."[48] And in April 1928, when internationally acclaimed Ukrainian soprano Solomiia Krushelnytska, the first successful interpreter of *Madame Butterfly*, performed a Russian opera aria at a recital in Winnipeg, Avramenko could not contain his nationalist indignation. At the banquet, which followed the recital, he unleashed a torrent of accusations and invective at the aging opera singer. While those in attendance gasped and fidgeted uncomfortably, Krushelnytska smiled at her agitated detractor and then, without missing a beat, disarmed him completely by delivering a stirring rendition of the Ukrainian national anthem.[49] Avramenko, who had no sense of irony, believed himself

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46. See the humorous letters Bobersky wrote Avramenko in the fall of 1927 in LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 7, file 19; Andrii Kist's letter to Avramenko, 3 June 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 12; and Volodymyr Kukhta's letter to Avramenko, 3 March 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 25.

47. Lev Sorochynsky's letter to Avramenko, 5 December 1927, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 10, file 9.

48. Kist's letter to Avramenko, 12 February 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 12.

49. See the correspondence between Avramenko and Michael Stechishin, commencing on 23 April 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 2, file 12.

completely vindicated, but his behaviour would be the subject of gossip in Winnipeg for the next six months.

Ready to sacrifice everything for the "Ukrainian cause," Avramenko not only expected, he demanded as much from everyone around him. Absolutely convinced that his labours on behalf of Ukrainian dancing were a "sacred obligation" that had to be sustained "even if it costs me my life," Avramenko could not understand those who had more mundane priorities.[50] When his manager Volodymyr Kukhta and eighteen-year-old Genia Ferley, the daughter of a prominent provincial and municipal politician, decided to get married during the August 1927 tour, Avramenko was furious and dismissed both. Several months later, when the selfless Hassan concluded that it was impossible to make a living as a Ukrainian performer in Canada and returned to studies at the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph, Avramenko berated him for wasting his talents on a farm. Hassan, he insisted, had a responsibility to "work for the glory and liberation of Ukraine."[51] And when Andrii Kist, who was starving and unable to pay the rent in Winnipeg, indicated his readiness to work as a harvest labourer or soft-drink bottler, Avramenko warned him not to mention the subject again because the "Ukrainian cause" took precedence.[52] Avramenko even expected parents to transport the children who were to tour the United States with him from Winnipeg to upper New York State at their own expense.[53] When no one obliged he was confounded.

And, not only did he subject his pupils to endless harangues on the decadence of modern music and dance, the evils of gum-chewing, and the immorality of using lipstick and make-up, he also lectured them on Ukrainian history, Ukrainian language, and the beauty and superiority of the traditional Ukrainian folk costume. Friends begged him to stop these lectures and to focus on dance lessons, but Avramenko would not be denied.[54]

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50. See the correspondence between Avramenko and Hassan, 17 April–10 May 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 3.

51. Avramenko's letter to Hassan, 2 February 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 3.

52. Kist's letter to Avramenko, 10 July 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 12.

53. Kist's letter to Ivan Pihuliak, 11 July 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 18.

54. Kist's letter to Avramenko, 7 September 1929, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 18.

For Avramenko the Ukrainian folk costume was the primary emblem of Ukrainian identity, and his preoccupation with it surpassed even that of the most ardent nineteenth-century Ukrainophiles.[55] He taught dance classes dressed in boots, an embroidered shirt, baggy pantaloons or *sharavary,* and a knee-length black jacket or *svyta*. Indeed, he wore this outfit and a lambskin hat at all public appearances and just about everywhere else. The mere suggestion that he abandon it in favour of contemporary western dress infuriated him. When Kukhta hinted that Avramenko wear a business suit when he was not on stage, Avramenko refused to consider the possibility, insisting that he would not become "an internationalist insofar as clothing is concerned."[56] Avramenko wanted to *compel* Ukrainians "to love their superior native attire." When he married Pauline in June 1928 Avramenko used the occasion to showcase the beauty of the Ukrainian wedding ritual and traditional Ukrainian dress: the 200 invited guests were asked to wear Ukrainian folk costumes. In later years Avramenko upbraided Ukrainian singers and instrumentalists who were photographed in frock coats rather than embroidered shirts, and it would take much effort and energy to persuade him to wear a business suit when crossing the Canadian-American border.

Most significantly, almost every Avramenko's performance was a financial disaster, notwithstanding the good reviews. Unshakeable in the belief that he was working for the glory of the Ukrainian people and their cause, Avramenko saw no reason to pinch pennies. Denying himself all but the most vital necessities of life, Avramenko spent very liberally to promote his school, rent attractive venues, and advertise performances. Rehearsal halls, accommodations, instructors' salaries, costume storage fees, and incessant travel from one school to another drained much of his income. There were also expenditures on publicity photos, newspaper advertisements, stationary, certificates, diplomas, posters, window cards, handbills, leaflets, librettos, sheet music, and the illustrated handbook

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55. For a perceptive discussion of how Ukrainophiles used the folk costume to create a national mythology and resist the Russian imperial regime see Serhy Yekelchyk, "The Body and National Myth: Motifs from the Ukrainian National Revival in the Nineteenth Century," *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 7, no. 2 (1993): 31–59. Unlike Avramenko, most late nineteenth century Ukrainophiles confined use of the folk costume to festive occasions.

56. Avramenko's letter to Volodymyr Kukhta, 17 February 1928, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 8, file 25.

published in March 1928. The last two items cost almost $1,000 to publish but failed to yield any income. And, instead of staging one quality production at high admission prices in a good theatre, Avramenko always put on a second and a third show and also appeared in every U-krainian community and parish hall that was available. As a result, much of the income from his dance schools was wasted because more recitals were scheduled than the public was willing or able to attend.

By the spring of 1927, largely as a result of his lack of business acumen and inability to take advice even from his best friends, Avramenko had debts totalling more than $1,000.[57] The two tours of the Prairie provinces only added to his financial woes. Because he ignored warnings about the great distances; the cost of halls, theatres, transportation, food, and accommodation; and the likelihood that harvest and post-harvest farm work and inclement weather would hurt attendance, the tour yielded a $700 deficit, and by January 1928 Avramenko had debts totalling more than $2,000.[58] When he left Canada in May 1928 his personal debts were in excess of $3,000, and in the United States Avramenko's financial predicament would only get worse.[59]

As his financial problems grew, certain patterns emerged that would characterize Avramenko for the rest of his life. Every financial failure spurred him to formulate an even more grandiose project by means of which he hoped to cover his mounting debts. He also began to borrow money and issue public appeals for donations. Invariably, such appeals declared that Avramenko was not working for personal gain but for the "Ukrainian cause," as if he had a moral right to such largesse, while the Ukrainian-Canadian public had a moral obligation to provide it. In Winnipeg, where he had many creditors, Avramenko's popularity waned, but elsewhere in Canada, for the time being, his reputation remained untarnished.

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57. Item dated 3 June 1927, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 2, file 8.

58. Avramenko's letter to J. Sytnyk, 27 December 1927, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 10, file 11.

59. Avramenko's letter to Havrylo Avramenko, 19 January 1929, LAC, MG 31, D 87, vol. 7, file 3. To put these debts into perspective, in 1929 the average annual wage in Canada was $1,200 and fewer than five percent of Canadians earned more than $2,500 annually. See John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada 1922–1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 138.

When Avramenko arrived in December 1925 Canada did not have an indigenous professional theatre. There were only two symphony orchestras in the country, and dance, as a performing art, was virtually unknown. For someone with Avramenko's raw talent and drive, Canada offered limitless possibilities. He was quickly catapulted to prominence by the mainstream press, which contrasted chaste Ukrainian folk dances with the libidinous social dances of the Jazz Age and marveled at the colour and exoticism of Avramenko's spectacles. At the same time, Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders hailed him as the man who would acquaint the Canadian public with the beauty of Ukrainian culture and save the Canadian-born generation from assimilation. There can be no doubt that Avramenko's work as teacher, performer and popularizer during these first three years made him the "father of Ukrainian folk dancing" in Canada.

Although Avramenko's most celebrated achievements—the Metropolitan Opera House performance, his tour with Koshetz and their appearances in Carnegie Hall, the spectacle at the Chicago World Fair, and the production of two Ukrainian-language feature films—would take place in the United States during the 1930s, they would fail to generate the kind of popularity and public acclaim that he had enjoyed in Canada during the 1920s. It was much more difficult to attract media attention in New York City and Chicago than in Toronto and Winnipeg, and Avramenko's subordination of art to nationalist propaganda finally caught up with him in the United States. Ukrainian-American community leaders and opinion makers soon lost patience with the man who had arrived promising to create a Ukrainian ballet. They concluded that his spectacles were too bombastic and that Avramenko lacked the will and discipline to elevate his work to the level of genuine art. Ultimately, however, Avramenko's fiscal irresponsibility, more than anything else, would destroy his reputation. Driven by an obsessive need to promote the "Ukrainian cause" and sustain his own reputation, Avramenko consistently overestimated the drawing power of his spectacles and exceeded his budget. As a result, all of his major projects in the United States were financial disasters. As his personal debts soared and his marriage disintegrated,[60] Avramenko found himself being pursued by hapless

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60. Avramenko and Pauline separated in the spring of 1936 after several years of estrangement.

creditors who had entrusted him with their savings. Shunned and ostracized, he would move to Hollywood in 1940 in a desperate attempt to evade his creditors. His productive years behind him, he would spend the rest of his life trying to cash in on the good memories and run away from the bad ones.[61]

61. These themes are developed further in my forthcoming biographical sketch, *Avramenko: The Rise and Fall of a Legendary Ukrainian Showman* (Edmonton: CIUS Press).

Avramenko and the Paradigm of National Culture

Andriy Nahachewsky

Ukrainian dance is undoubtedly the most significant organized secular Ukrainian activity among young Ukrainian Canadians. The work of Vasile Avramenko is one of the most important direct causes of the perennial popularity of this still growing activity in Canada. Understanding his activities from the time he arrived in North America in 1925 contributes to knowledge of the interwar period of Ukrainian-Canadian history as well as the contemporary Ukrainian community in this country.

The basic facts of Avramenko's early dance activity in Canada have been repeated in numerous publications, although a detailed description of this activity still awaits publication.[1] He arrived in Canada in December 1925, set up temporary schools in Toronto, and mounted two performances at Toronto's Standard Theatre by February 1926. By the end of 1927 he had organized some 120 concerts in dozens of communities from Toronto to Edmonton, and his students had staged many more performances. By the time he shifted his base to the United States, Avra-

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1. Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891–1967" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1977), 151–205; Iryna Knysh, *Zhyva dusha narodu: do iuvileiu ukrainskoho tanku* (Winnipeg: the author, 1966); Ivan Pihuliak, *Vasyl Avramenko a vidrodzhennia ukrainskoho tanku* (Syracuse, N.Y.: the author, 1979); Alexandra Pritz, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Dance in Canada," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 87–101; Bohdan Zerebecky, *A Survey of the History of Ukrainian Dance, Ukrainian Dance Resource Booklet*, series 1, vol. 1, 2d ed. (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Canadian Committee and Saskatchewan Provincial Council, 1986), 26–9; and Orest T. Martynowych, *Avramenko: The Rise and Fall of a Legendary Ukrainian Showman* (forthcoming).

menko and his followers had set in motion a popular movement that continued to gain momentum across the continent. He returned to Canada numerous times over the next six decades, but the dance phenomenon he had started had taken on a life of its own and his personal influence over it waned. By the end of the Second World War the choreographic monopoly he enjoyed in the 1920s and 1930s had been challenged and, since the early 1970s his dance arrangements have yielded completely to newer choreographies by scores of dance leaders across the country.

Rather than concentrating on the descriptive details of the historical events surrounding Vasile Avramenko and Ukrainian dance, I shall focus on conceptual issues. The tradition of Ukrainian national dance in Canada during the interwar period was qualitatively very different from that before his arrival and from what is performed today. I propose to describe the national dance paradigm established in Avramenko's heyday and to outline its most salient characteristics, partly by contrasting it with the earlier participatory dance paradigm and the spectacular dance paradigm, which followed.[2]

National dances contrast with participatory dances, which appeared immediately after the first Ukrainian communities had been established and have continued to some degree to this day. The participatory tradition of Ukrainian dance in Canada involved thirty or more dances, such as the *kolomyika*, *hutsulka*, *arkan*, *chaban*, *holubka*, toe-heel polka, *verkhovyna*, *Vasylykha,* and *mazurka*.[3] It was based on peasant cultural practices brought by the early immigrants from Bukovyna and Galicia, performed at social gatherings on Sunday afternoons, weddings, and other festive occasions, as illustrated in figure 1, a candid wedding photograph taken

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2. The identification of three contrasting paradigms is inspired in part by the ideas presented by Robert B. Klymasz in *Continuity and Change: The Ukrainian Folk Heritage in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies and the Communications Division of the National Museum of Man, 1972). Klymasz identifies "pioneer folk," "national," and "ethnic pop" tendencies in Ukrainian art in Canada, and defines some of their key characteristics. The ideas in the present article are also influenced by Alexandra Pritz's "Ukrainian Dance in Canada: The First Fifty Years, 1924–1974," in *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyj (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 124–54.

3. Andriy Nahachewsky, "First Existence Folk Dance Forms Among Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, Alberta and Swan Plain, Saskatchewan," (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1985); idem, *Pobutovi tantsi ukraintsiv Kanady* (Kyiv: Rodovid, 2002); and idem, "New Ethnicity and Ukrainian Canadian Social Dances," *Journal of American Folklore*, Spring 2002: 175–90.

Figure 1
Ukrainians Dancing a Polka-Type Dance at a Wedding in Alberta, circa 1902
Source: Olha Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1968), after p. 32.

Figure 2
A Pose from *Zaporozhskyi herts* in the National Dance Paradigm
Source: Vasile Avramenko, *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky, muzyka i strii* (Winnipeg, 1948), 52.

in 1902. The repertoire was increasingly mixed with new items learned in Canada. In terms of the number of dances performed, the participatory tradition is the largest, however it is eclipsed in many people's minds by the flashier and more intensely symbolic stage dance tradition.

Stage folk dance is fundamentally different from participatory dance. Stage dances are performed in presentational settings and geared to non-dancing spectators rather than to the dancers themselves. The difference in setting and function has profound implications for the dance activity, including the physical form of the dance.[4] In general, stage dances can be called "revivals," for they are performed at least partly in conscious imitation of "original" village participatory dances. As is evident in figure 2, in some ways the dancers (and perhaps the audience) pretend to be back in a village long ago. The music, movements, costumes, stage backdrops, and other theatrical cues refer to an earlier setting.[5]

Several kinds of stage folk dance traditions can be identified, including two that are relevant for our discussion here—national dance and spectacular dance. The national dance paradigm contrasts with the spectacular dance paradigm, which is dominant today in Canadian Ukrainian stage dance. Spectacular elements are always present in stage dance, but I argue that they have increased so dramatically since Avramenko's time that the change should be recognized as a paradigm shift. Although the shift from the national dance paradigm to spectacular dance paradigm over the last seventy-five years was less abrupt and less obvious than the previous shift from the participatory to the national dance paradigm, it too is quite striking.

National versus Participatory Paradigm

National dances have four defining characteristics. They are objectified, symbolic, pure, and cosmopolitan dances. Let me explain each characteristic.

4. Andriy Nahachewsky, "Participatory and Presentational Dance as Ethnochoreological Categories," *Dance Research Journal* 27, no. 1 (1995): 1–15.

5. Andriy Nahachewsky, "Once Again: On the Concept of 'Second Existence Folk Dance,'" in *ICTM 20th Ethnochoreology Symposium Proceedings, 1998: Traditional Dance and Its Historical Sources, Creative Processes in Dance: Improvisation and Composition*, ed. Frank Hall and Irene Loutzaki (Istanbul: Bogaziçi University Folklore Club, 2000), 125–43; reprinted in the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (New York: International Council for Traditional Music, 2001): 17–28.

According to the national paradigm, a dance is conceived of as an object that is relatively independent of the setting in which it is performed. It is understood as a product in contrast to a participatory dance, which is experienced as a process. People engaged in a participatory dance do not normally make a conceptual distinction between the dance itself and the dancing event in which it takes place. The formula governing participatory dance is carried in its performers' memories for countless generations (perhaps changing in subtle ways each time). The formula of a national dance, by contrast, is fixed and institutionalized in books or other external media. Avramenko published descriptions of his dances in two books with large print runs.[6] In contrast with participatory dances, national dances tend to be regarded as discrete constructs that "exist" even when they are not being performed.

Being objectified, a national dance is consciously valued. The difference between a participatory folk dance and a national dance is somewhat like the difference between an old piece of furniture and an antique. An old piece of furniture may be physically very similar to an antique, but its value is much lower. Like an old chair, a folk dance can be discovered, named, analyzed, and polished until it becomes a national dance. As a tool for the moral uplifting of the people and the development of national consciousness, a national dance is often the object of large investments of time, energy, and dedication. People pay to learn or watch a national dance. It is a "value-added" dance.

National dances also differ from participatory dances in that they are formally transmitted. Participatory dances are learned informally and often unconsciously by observation and imitation, usually by exposure *in situ* from childhood or even earlier. All normal members of a community can dance. They tacitly know the general flavour and style of the dance, experiencing only minor technical challenges once they are old enough to participate fully in dance events. The formulae for participatory Ukrainian dances are generally quite simple and allow for a degree of improvisation and variation within a generally prescribed pattern. National dances, however, are learned only by a specific subset of the community, people who take lessons and attend rehearsals. Many other members of the community see themselves as non-dancers and may never choose to

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6. Vasile Avramenko, *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky: Opys* (Winnipeg: Shkoly Ukrainskoho Natsionalnoho Tanku, 1928); and *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky, muzyka i strii* (Winnipeg: the author, 1947).

become competent in the dances. Dancers first learn the steps, then the formations, and eventually master the overall style of the dance. The prescription for the dance generally does not allow for improvisation, but involves pre-determined steps, sequences, formations, and relationships from beginning to end.[7] The national dance paradigm requires the leadership of special choreographers and instructors; in our case, Vasile Avramenko and his best students. The dancers rehearse the movements and sequences many times in practice situations; rehearsing is not considered dancing in the same sense as performing in front of an audience. A dance that is performed on stage is literally placed on a pedestal.

National dance traditions are symbolic. In semiotic terms, the signifiers are the prescribed dance compositions, the signified is "Ukrainianness." This focused symbolic potency is a new situation for the dances, and does not apply to participatory dances.[8] As symbols of ethnic identity, national dances are selected, standardized, representative, and ideological.

National dance traditions constitute a severely restricted selection of the participatory dance repertoire from which they draw their inspiration. Ukraine had perhaps 25,000 villages at the beginning of the twentieth century, and each village tended to have between four and twenty dances in its participatory repertoire. Dance repertoires typically varied somewhat from one village to another.[9] Even allowing for the fact that a particular

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7. Nahachewsky, "Participatory," 5, 7–10.

8. A participatory dance may mean many things to the dancers, but "Ukrainianness" is seldom one of them. It tends to signify that a special moment or place or event is important. It signals information about the status, personality, or the skill of the dancer to the people around him/her. It may signal information about relationships among dancers. It may signal local identity and contrast it with the identity of visitors, and only rarely does it signal the ethnic or national identity of the dancers as such. See Anya Peterson Royce, *The Anthropology of Dance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 76–85.

9. The number of participatory dances in the repertoire of most Ukrainian villages has actually not been documented, although Roman Harasymchuk demonstrates that in the Hutsul area in the 1930s, each village had between four and twenty-three dances in its repertoire. See Roman Harasymczuk, *Tance Huculskie*, vol. 5 of *Prace etnograficzne* (Lviv, 1939): 257. Comparative evidence from adjacent areas, which are better researched, also suggests a similar range of possibilities; see György Martin, "Performing Styles in the Dances of the Carpathian Basin," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 20 (1968): 60; Anca Giurchescu, "The Process of Improvisation in Folk Dance," *Dance Studies* 7 (1983): 25–6. We have less information on the size of the repertoire in central and eastern Ukraine.

dance variant was often known by a number of villages, it is clear that tens of thousands of participatory village dance forms existed at the time that Avramenko was establishing his corpus of dances. Had Avramenko researched village dance forms that were no longer performed by his time the potential sources for the national dance tradition would have greatly increased.[10] It is striking then, that Avramenko's repertoire included some eighteen dances altogether, and only ten or twelve were normally performed.[11] Some ninety-nine percent of the participatory repertoire that might have served as inspiration for the national dances remained unused. The object for the builders of the national dance tradition is not to "save" the entire corpus of traditional dances that are performed by Ukrainians, but rather to promote a selected few of them to serve as symbols of the rest.[12] In this respect, national dances can be seen as functioning somewhat like commercial logos.[13]

10. According to the Romantic notion of peasant culture, traditional forms remain stable for very long periods of time. However, there is good evidence to suggest that folkloric items such as songs and dances continuously changed and evolved over time, even in conservative folk communities. See Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Novi ukrainski pisni pro hromadski spravy (1764–1880)* (Geneva: Rabotnik i Hromada, 1881); Volodymyr Hnatiuk, "Pisenni novotvory v ukrainsko-ruskii narodnii slovesnosti," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 50, bk. 6 (1902): 1–37 and 52, bk. 2 (1903): 38–67. Although less research has been done specifically in dance, similar processes clearly apply; cf. Harasymczuk, *Tance*, 258–61.

11. See Avramenko, *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky* (1928) and *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky* (1947). The dances in his repertoire included *Velykodnia haivka*, *Kozachok podilskyi*, *Kolomyika* (for two couples), *Zhuravel vesilnyi*, *Kateryna (Khersonka)*, *Hopak kolom*, *Zaporozhskyi herts*, *Arkan kolomyiskyi*, *Hrechanyky*, *Metelytsia*, *Kozachok solo*, *Kolomyika* (for one couple), *Kolomyika siianka*, *Zhenchychok*, *Honyviter*, *Vilnyi hutsul*, and *Chumak*. Other compositions were rarely performed, especially after Avramenko moved to North America.

12. Nation builders might vociferously proclaim their intent to save all traditional forms from demise and may lament the passing of any particular one. However, the fact is that traditional participatory dances (as well as traditional songs, tales, beliefs, crafts, customs, and so on) constantly come into and fade out of active use in their normal contexts. In reality, it would be quite impossible and even undesirable to "freeze" the entire folk repertoire permanently.

13. IBM, McDonald's, Coca Cola, and countless other companies carefully select one or two graphic symbols among many possibilities to signify their identity to their audiences. Corporations benefit when these logos become well known because then the corporations can quickly and inexpensively re-project themselves into the minds of their potential consumers and engender the desired attitudes. This works most effectively when the logo is repeated consistently and frequently. Large companies devote a great deal of

National dances are standardized so that they can most effectively serve as symbols. Avramenko purposely taught the same dances everywhere he went around the world. He insisted his students reproduce the same dances as accurately and consistently as possible. His most popular dances were performed in a more or less standard manner for thousands of performances. Avramenko dreamed that Ukrainians from Winnipeg, Toronto, Saskatoon, New York, and Kyiv would be able to dance the same dances together when they met. Ukrainians were one people and Ukrainian culture should be one. His success in fixing the form of the dances can be seen in records of performances sometimes several decades and many miles apart.[14] In terms of standardization, national dances contrast markedly with participatory traditions, where considerable diversity is the norm, and dance forms vary or overlap loosely from locality to locality and from time to time. Participatory traditions are not subject to formal controls of standardization.

Since the national dances are selected symbols of Ukrainianness, it follows that they are intended to be "representative" of the nation. This is an important function that is new in this paradigm.[15] Rather than being associated with their local communities, the dances now are made portable and are considered to come from Ukraine in a generalized way. They serve as representative samples of Ukrainian culture and are performed by and for Ukrainians to strengthen the imagined community,

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energy and resources developing their logos, disseminating them, and defending them against competitors' copyright infringements. National dance traditions function in much the same way, but somewhat less explicitly and legalistically. Certainly, Ukrainian patriots benefit when the *hopak* becomes well known around the world. It is not surprising if they object when the *hopak* is called *gopak* and presented as a Russian dance. The Ukrainian national movement has claimed the *hopak* as a Ukrainian national dance. Conversely, Hungarians and Polish patriots may be uncomfortable when a *chardash* (*csardás*) is performed as a Ukrainian Transcarpathian dance, or a *mazurka* is performed to represent Ukrainian Polissia. This is all true in spite of the ethnographic fact that the participatory *hopak, chardash, mazurka,* and other dances were (and probably still are) enjoyed in villages on both sides of the respective borders by dancers of more than one ethnolinguistic group.

14. A. Nahachewsky, "The Kolomyika: Change and Diversity in Canadian Ukrainian Folk Dance" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1991), 164–5.

15. For a clear discussion on a neighbouring country's process, see Arzu Öztürkmen, "Folk Dance and Nationalism in Turkey" in *17th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology: 1992 Proceedings*, ed. Irene Loutzaki (Nafplion, Greece: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation and the International Council for Traditional Music, 1994), 83–5.

reinforce group unity, and boost morale.[16] They are also performed for outsiders to teach them about Ukraine and her culture.[17]

Again in contrast with participatory dance traditions, national dances are clearly ideological. Avramenko's ideology was Ukrainian nationalist. In his long speeches at nearly every concert and other public event, he emphasized a pan-Ukrainian stance (he came from central Ukraine whereas most of the Canadians he addressed had roots in Galicia or Bukovyna).[18] He also expressed anti-Communist and anti-Polish attitudes. He emphasized the duty to remember and serve Ukraine as the highest duty in life. Although Avramenko's own ideology was abundantly clear, it is also quite evident that the dances themselves did not contain any particular ideological content, but could serve any political goal equally well. Practically the same repertoire of dances was exploited for their own purposes by the pro-Soviet Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), the Orthodox Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK), the nationalist Ukrainian National Youth Federation (MUNO) and other organizations of diverse ideological leaning.[19]

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16. For more on the idea of nations as imaginary communities and on their symbol-creating powers, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

17. The fact that national dances are representative of the whole nation is complicated by the existence of regional dances and regional characteristics. In Ukrainian-Canadian dance, the national style is primarily associated with forms based on the Poltava region, with the Hutsul region constituting an important alternative choice. In the vernacular of Ukrainian-Canadian dance in the 1980s and 1990s, these were considered the core styles, and dances representing Volhynia, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, Podillia, and other areas were described as "regional styles." Regional items are considered assets to national dance repertoires because they explicitly include the various geographic areas within the umbrella of the nation-state. For insider audiences, regional variants illustrate the richness of the overall national culture and provide theatrical diversity in costuming, music, and movement. A few regional variants can also enrich the experience of less informed outsider audiences, although too many variants can also dilute the potency of the main symbol as a logo. In all cases, however, regional diversity is presented as strictly subordinate to national unity, and it is often explicitly stressed that the regional differences constitute only surface variations of the essentially cohesive national normalform.

18. Knysh, *Zhyva dusha,* 47–62.

19. It appears that the first performances of Avramenko's dances in western Canada were in connection with the ULFTA Girls' Mandolin Orchestra's tour of Manitoba,

National dances aspire to national purity and eschew explicit commonalities or borrowings from other nations' cultures. One of the basic tenets of Romantic nationalism is that all the people on Earth can be divided into races (peoples, nations). The original nations are imagined to be discrete and pure, each with its own national spirit, national characteristics, and homeland. Cultural assimilation or borrowing is seen as pollution compromising the national spirit. To justify its claim to sovereignty an emerging nation, such as the Ukrainian nation, has to prove that it has its own ancient and unique national spirit. If its national symbols are not pure, the "foreign elements" in them indicate that its culture is unoriginal or incomplete and undermine its claim to true nationhood. Therefore, the Ukrainian national dance repertoire is designed to be unique and clearly different from the Russian, Polish, Hungarian, and other national dance repertoires. Any element of music, costume, or movement that is claimed by another nation must be purged from the Ukrainian national dance tradition or contested.

The demand for purity in the national dance paradigm stands in striking contrast to participatory dance traditions. Village repertoires are generally fluid, flexible, and unselfconscious. Many of the dances seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, dances easily migrate from one area to another, and imported forms from adjacent areas are regularly adopted, regardless of whether they cross any ethnolinguistic, geographic, political, or other boundary. Each generation tends to inherit many dance forms but also to introduce new ones. Since dances do not normally symbolize ethnic identity, dancers generally think of specific forms as newer versus older, rather than Ukrainian versus foreign. All dances are considered "ours" simply because "we" dance them.[20]

Connected with the purity of national dances is the positive valuation of antiquity. As Romantic nationalism postulated, the leaders of national movements had to demonstrate that their nation was ancient or risk

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Alberta, and Saskatchewan from 6 July to 1 September 1926. Ivan Grekul of the ULFTA attended Avramenko's early courses in Toronto, moved to Winnipeg, and taught two dances to the girls just before their tour started (Peter Krawchuk, *Our Stage: The Amateur Performing Arts of the Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* [Toronto: Kobzar, 1984], 71–76, 86). Avramenko himself and his authorized students Victor Moshuk and Ivan Pihuliak did not stage performances in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta until 1927.

20. "We" refers to the local community directly experienced by the dancers, rather than an abstract "imagined community" of the nation as described by Benedict Anderson and others.

challenges to the legitimacy of their political claims. Avramenko's claim in the program notes of his concerts that the *arkan* is connected with the ancient Scythians was consistent with the positive valuation of antiquity (though it may not have been historically justified).[21] Similarly, Avramenko explicitly linked the *haivky* with pre-Christian and classical culture. The *hopak* is described as a more recent and yet sufficiently remote dance dating back to the golden age of the Cossacks. Dance forms that are recognizably modern are not admitted to the national dance repertoire. By Avramenko's time, polkas, waltzes, foxtrots, tangos, and other dance forms were becoming quite common in Ukrainian villages, and they were scrupulously excluded from his national forms.[22] Avramenko campaigned against the "spreading disease of unhealthy and immoral dances such as the shimmy, foxtrot, charleston, and others of their kind."[23]

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21. The Scythians were an Indo-European people who lived in Ukrainian territories from approximately 900 to 300 BC. They were described as the first horse riders by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus and left many archaeological treasures in their burial mounds. Unfortunately, we know nothing of their dancing, and the territories they occupied do not coincide with the geographic range of the *arkan*. See Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* (New York; F. A. Praeger, 1957); Renata Rolle, *The World of the Scythians* (London: Batsford, 1989); and B. N. Grakov, *Skify: Nauchno-populiarnyi ocherk* (Moscow: Izd. Moskovskogo universiteta, 1971). Elizabeth Torp showed that the footwork pattern of the basic *arkan* step is widespread in the Balkans and other parts of Europe. She examined 1,291 chain and round dances from many countries across Europe (but not Ukraine). Almost one quarter of them (310) share the same core step with the *arkan*, which she identified as basic Pattern B (Lisbet Torp, *Chain and Round Dance Patterns: A Method for Structural Analysis and Its Application to European Material* [Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 1990], 1: 99–111 and 2: 62, 83–92).

22. One exception to this pattern are the *quadrilles* (*kadryli*), relatives of North American square dances, which originated in western Europe in the early nineteenth century and became very popular across the western world. See Andrew Lamb, "Quadrille," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2d ed. (New York: Grove, 2001). They became widespread in Ukrainian villages at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth. See Andrii Humeniuk, *Ukrainski narodni tantsi* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1969), 24 ff. Avramenko's published repertoire contains four dances with *quadrille* elements, including *Kateryna, Zhuravel vesilnyi, Kolomyika siianka*, and to a lesser degree, *Hrechanyky*. Each of these dances has a clearly Ukrainian name, and it seems that Avramenko did not know the historical pedigree of this dance forms, but was attracted by the complex formations and therefore the dances' theatrical interest.

23. Avramenko, *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky* (1947), 10.

According to the national paradigm, dances should not only be ancient, but they should be timeless and permanent. Avramenko spoke of his national dances as firmly rooted in the collective Ukrainian past.[24] Just as the Ukrainian nation is timeless, so are its dances. Once the national dance tradition is established, it should ideally remain unaltered forever. Later in Avramenko's life, when new Ukrainian-Canadian dance groups appeared, he disapproved of their performing dances other than his.[25]

Although there is a certain tension between the ideal of purity and cosmopolitanism, national dance traditions must be cosmopolitan to some extent to fulfill their purpose. Since the goal of the national dancing is to raise the profile and status of Ukrainian culture, and since many of the audience members (Ukrainian or non-Ukrainian) are also exposed to other national dance cultures, it is clear that Ukrainian dances should be at least as beautiful as those of other nations. Avramenko was very keen to have his dance performances attended by non-Ukrainians, and took great pride in the positive assessments written by non-Ukrainian reviewers.[26]

If Ukrainian dances are less striking or less memorable than the dances of some other national group, then perhaps Ukraine itself is less impressive than the other nation. In this sense national dance traditions compete and are judged in the international theatre of the day. Leaders of national dance traditions therefore tend to observe non-Ukrainian dance performances and quietly incorporate the features they feel would improve their project.[27] In most cases of the national paradigm the

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24. Ibid. Avramenko's particular repertoire clearly coalesced in the 1920s, though he tended not to discuss the origins of his specific dances (Mary Ann Herman, "Vasyl Avramenko—As I Knew Him," in *The Ukrainian Folk Dance: A Symposium*, ed. Robert B. Klymasz [Toronto: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1961], 16–18). The specific histories of the dances have not yet been sufficiently researched. Dances such as *Kolomyika u dvi pary* were based on village material, mostly as observed by others and described to Avramenko. Other dances, such as *Kateryna* and *Chumak,* were based on earlier choreographies from the generation of theatre artists before Avramenko. Still others seem to have been original compositions that he created himself (Nahachewsky, "Kolomyika," 141).

25. This is based on my personal experience with the Yevshan Ukrainian Folk Ballet Ensemble of Saskatoon in the mid-1970s and on conversations with other dancers.

26. Avramenko cared a great deal about the attitudes of non-Ukrainian spectators (for example, see Avramenko, *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky* [1947], p. 9) and paid much attention to English-language reviews of his concerts. For example, he republished Henry Beckett's glowing review "Avramenko's Gorgeous Ukrainian Festival" in New York's *Evening Post,* 27 April 1931, in his *Ukrainski natsionalni tanky* (1947), 67–69 and elsewhere.

27. More research needs to be done to compare Avramenko's national dance forms and

tension between purity and cosmopolitanism is slanted towards purity. The cosmopolitan features of the dance tradition tend to be discrete and perhaps even covert.

National versus Spectacular Paradigm

The national paradigm of Ukrainian dance can be further illuminated by contrasting it with the spectacular dance paradigm, which became increasingly influential in Ukrainian-Canadian dance in the last half of the twentieth century. Spectacular dances became popular because of a number of factors: Ukrainian Canadians' access to a wide variety of spectacular performing arts in the broader environment, the immigration of a number of Ukrainian dance choreographers after the Second World War who were not indebted to Avramenko[28] and, perhaps most importantly, the influence of Soviet Ukrainian stage dance.[29]

Our discussion of the differences between the national and the spectacular paradigms can proceed by focusing on the same four characteristics as before—objectification, symbolism, purity, and cosmopolitanism. In some respects the spectacular and the national para-

performance strategies with those of other nations in Europe and North America in the 1920s and 1930s. Because of his emphasis on uniqueness and purity, it is unlikely that Avramenko left much direct evidence on this question.

28. Pritz. "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions," 178–94; idem, "Evolution," 88–9; and idem, "Ukrainian Dance," 133–7.

29. Whereas the national paradigm was key to the development of Ukrainian stage dance in Canada for many decades, it was actively suppressed in Soviet Ukraine by the 1930s. Vasyl Verkhovynets, a strong leader of the Ukrainian dance movement and one of Avramenko's teachers, was executed by the Soviets in 1938 for nationalist tendencies. In Ukraine the spectacular orientation developed and by 1937 became institutionalized through the highly balleticized work of Igor Moiseev in Moscow, Mykola Bolotov and Pavlo Virsky in Kyiv, and many others. See Henrietta Borimska, *Samotsvity ukrainskoho tantsiu* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1974), 16–31; Elena Lutskaia, *Zhizn v tantse* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1968), 3–20; and my "Ukraine: Traditional Dance," *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 222–3. Significant shifts towards the spectacular paradigm in Ukrainian-Canadian dance correspond with periods of increased contact with Soviet dance during the thaw in the 1960s and the perestroika in the mid-1980s. See the chapter on Ukrainian-Canadian dance in *Visible Symbols*, 87–115; Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance," 149–50; my "Canadian Influences on Ukrainian Dance," in *Migrations from Western Ukraine to Western Canada: Proceedings of the Joint Conferences,* ed. Alexander Makar and Radomir Bilash (Edmonton: Canadian Centre for Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography, University of Alberta, and Historic Sites and Archives Services, Alberta Community Development, 2002), 293–5; and Zerebecky, "Survey," 34–7.

digms are closer to each other than to participatory dance traditions. Still, they differ in other important ways.

Insofar as dances are valued consciously and transmitted formally, the spectacular dance tradition objectifies them just as the national dance tradition does. In some respects, however, spectacular dances are objectified even more than national ones—to the point of being privately owned and copyrightable entities.

Spectacular dances are potent symbols of Ukrainianness, much in the same way as they are in the national paradigm. In the spectacular tradition, however, besides symbolizing the Ukrainian nation, the dances also represent the specific choreographer and dance group that performs them. This tendency towards emphasis on individual creativity is strongly modeled on professional and elite art in western culture. Copyright laws institutionalize a work of art as a legal entity that can be bought, owned, and sold by an individual or corporation. One can imagine a continuum with communally shared folk traditions on one extreme and copyrightable professional western art on the other. Participatory dance traditions are located near the "communal" end of this scale. National dance traditions operate somewhere around the midpoint, while spectacular dance traditions tend towards the "individualistic" end.[30]

In the spectacular dance paradigm, therefore, not only does each nation aspire for uniqueness in the international context, but also each group aspires to carve out a unique style and reputation in contrast to its intranational peers.[31] Therefore, the national ideal of standardization across all Ukrainian communities does not apply in the spectacular paradigm. Choreographers and dancers wish to conform to Ukrainian dance standards enough to be recognized as participating in the genre, but actively work against the idea of performing the same dances. A

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30. The tension between the two extremes is clear in Avramenko's work. He regularly emphasized the significance of the "genius of the nation" in the creation of the dances, and wanted everyone to copy his works. On the other hand, he also wanted personal credit for his dances (and ideally, royalties), reflecting the fact that he made a living from this work.

31. The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers of Edmonton have been particularly successful in developing a public profile across the country and achieving a relatively high level of name recognition in the general Canadian population. Members of other groups must be frustrated when outsiders generically refer to Ukrainian dancing as "Shumka dancing," as sometimes happens. Their situation is similar to that of the competitors of Xerox, Kleenex, and other companies whose brands have become generic terms.

differentiation between one group and another, and between one region and another in Canada is desirable and even celebrated. Since at least the 1970s, particular groups competing for audience support in the same area tended to polarize and shift towards opposing stylistic niches. For example, when the Pavlychenko Folklorique Ensemble in Saskatoon started incorporating regional dances learned from Soviet instructors in the mid-1970s, members of the Yevshan Ukrainian Folk Ballet Ensemble increasingly mounted pieces based exclusively on the Poltava and Hutsul styles and expressed increased concern about Sovietization. In Edmonton, as Shumka made its story-line format more explicit and well known in the 1970s and 1980s, the Ukrainian Cheremosh Society dancers responded by remaining actively committed to the variety concert format of diverse separate short pieces. The pattern of polarized styles has been noticeable in each western Canadian city supporting more than one senior performing ensemble.

In spectacular traditions the limits of "authenticity" are redefined or reinterpreted to allow for a greater diversity in the forms and the styles of dance compositions. The balance between authenticity and creativity tends to shift decidedly in the direction of the latter. Claims of authenticity are a remnant of the value system of the national paradigm and, perhaps, also a marketing strategy. They are generally perfunctory and rarely scrutinized by other Ukrainians or by outsiders. This shift in attitude is reinforced by the inability of the dancers, parents, spectators, and even instructors to evaluate authenticity because of their lack of knowledge of traditional dance. Parental administrative and costume committees that once seriously tried to serve as gatekeepers of the tradition have relinquished this role in most cases.

Spectacular dance activities tend to be explicitly less ideological than national traditions. In western Canada at least, dancers have tended to distance themselves from issues in Ukrainian politics and relate only to "softer" identity issues such as heritage, cultural expression, and ethnic creativity.[32] The reduced engagement with ideology is also reflected in the reception of influences and individual artists from Ukraine. During the period in which the national paradigm was dominant in Canada, Soviet choreographers and choreographies were regularly scrutinized for

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32. See Sylvia J. Shaw, "Attitudes of Canadians of Ukrainian Descent Toward Ukrainian Dance" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1988), 83–100.

"Communist influences" and "Russification." Particular costume styles, dance steps, and compositions were avoided as undesirable. Today, however, most Canadian-born instructors and parents of the dancers have come to accept innovations arriving from Ukraine quite unquestioningly; in the now-dominant spectacular paradigm, innovation is valued more highly than authenticity, purity, or timelessness.[33]

As is evident from the preceding discussion, the tension between purity and cosmopolitanism that was found in national dance traditions is also present in the spectacular dance paradigm; however, the balance shifts markedly towards the cosmopolitan pole.

The pressure for novelty applies to choreographic style, as well to the specific choreographic forms themselves. Most of the estimated 8,000 dances performed in 2002-3 in western Canada (perhaps 2,000 unique choreographies performed on stage at an average of four times each at dance competitions, festivals, year-end concerts, nursing homes, shopping malls, weddings, and many other occasions) were created in that school year. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of them were abandoned after the year-end show in early summer to make way for a whole new series of choreographic works in the next fall. This extremely brief life span for each dance composition is unique to the spectacular paradigm. It is facilitated by the fact that the enrolment in each Ukrainian dance school class may change from year to year. It is also reinforced by the fear of vexing the dancers by polishing the same choreography for too long and boring the spectators who might see a dance more than once.[34]

33. The Soviet-born instructors, who now direct the majority of senior groups in Canada and who are the prime vehicle of such innovations, are generally not aware of the standards and boundaries by which the Ukrainian dance community defined itself before they arrived. For the most part, they are not interested in this historical aspect of diaspora life, as they remain committed to the values and standards that they acquired in Soviet Ukraine. They tend to be less concerned with separating Ukrainian and Russian-origin elements, and see them all as naturalized into their spectacular stage heritage. In October 2003 I presented a paper "Post Soviet Ukrainian Dance in Canada" at the American Folklore Society conference in which I pointed out the irony of the fact that Russian and Soviet elements that had been considered ideologically undesirable in Ukrainian-Canadian dance for decades are becoming more common here in the post-Soviet period.

34. The treatment of dance compositions as disposable entities is more extreme in Canada than it is in Ukraine. Pavlo Virsky's famous *Hopak*, for example, remains mostly intact since its creation in the 1950s and has been performed literally thousands of times by hundreds of casts. Many other of the best dances performed in Ukraine are treated as classics that should remain perennial. This attitude is similar to that of the best classical

Obviously, Ukrainian dance choreographers in Canada tend to be very prolific.

The National Paradigm in the Interwar Context

The national paradigm is clearly an essential phase in the historical development of Ukrainian-Canadian dance. It constituted a major change from the earlier participatory paradigm, and also from the occasional dance scenes in Ukrainian theatrical plays that had been performed prior to 1927 in Canada.[35] In my view, the strength of the national dance tradition depended upon several internal and external factors in the larger cultural context of the interwar Ukrainian-Canadian community.

On the one hand, immigration was quite recent, and community leaders were fairly strongly connected with the homeland. Concern for the political fate of Ukraine was heightened at that time. Community leaders generally believed that the nation-building process was ongoing and that diaspora Ukrainians could play a significant role in the destiny of Ukraine. Interestingly, this state of heightened concern for Ukraine and the period of stability of the national dance paradigm set up by Avramenko in the middle decades of the twentieth century corresponded with the period when contact with Ukraine was relatively limited and new cultural inspiration from the homeland was rare.[36]

On the other hand, several factors within the larger Canadian context also supported the success of the national dance movement. Large numbers of Canadian Ukrainians were becoming established and comfortable on Canadian soil. A new generation of Canadian-born Ukrainians was reaching maturity and felt clearly at home in Canada. In the eyes of the older generation and the recent immigrant community

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ballet choreographies such as *Swan Lake*, which have survived for over a century. The less known amateur groups in Ukraine also tend towards a comparatively slower pace of repertoire turnover.

35. Nahachewsky, "First Existence," 69–71.

36. Newspapers, books and other cultural materials from western Ukraine (then part of the Polish state) were not uncommon in Canada, though they provided practically no useful information on Ukrainian dance. From the perspective of diaspora studies, the distant relationship between Ukrainian Canadians and their motherland throughout most of the twentieth century, followed by a sharp increase in contacts in recent years is an interesting phenomenon, strongly affecting concepts of identity and motherland. See Natalia V. Shostak, "Local Ukrainianness in Transnational Context: An Ethnographic Study of a Canadian Prairie Community" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 2001).

Figure 3
The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers of Edmonton Performing a Scene from
The Calling **in the Spectacular Paradigm**

Source: Alice Major, *The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers: Tradition in Motion*, ed. Gordon Gordey
(Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1991), 16.

leaders, they required education to raise their Ukrainian national consciousness. The interwar period was a time of significant growth in organized cultural and artistic life in Canada, and Avramenko's formally organized theatrical performances were compatible with this trend, as well as with tendencies towards discipline, structure, and hierarchy in the larger Canadian political and cultural milieu.

The fading of the national paradigm in Ukrainian-Canadian dance was also related to changes in the larger cultural context. Relations with the homeland tended to become weaker as third, fourth, and fifth generations born in Canada became completely integrated into Canadian culture while retaining a symbolic Ukrainian identity.[37] The sense of obligation to fight for Ukraine's political fate weakened in the period when the Soviet regime appeared to have overcome the nationalist opposition permanently. By the late 1980s, when dozens of Ukrainian-Canadian dance troupes started visiting Ukraine, the dancers were struck by the differences between their culture and that of the people in their ancestral homeland. This reinforced the Canadian identity of the visitors and the conviction that Ukraine's future was in the hands of her own citizenry.

As the national and political motivations for dancing declined, the aesthetic interest in Ukrainian dance in Canada favoured a more spectacular orientation. While Avramenko's dances were quite satisfactory in the context of European staged dance traditions in the 1920s, by the 1950s and 1960s they did not meet the new cosmopolitan standards. They survived in isolated communities and as dances for young children. Influenced by the international aesthetic, which demands complexity and virtuosity, today's dances are much more complicated and densely structured.[38] As evident in figure 3, recent productions can be strongly

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37. For a discussion of symbolic ethnicity and how the ethnicity of immigrants may be quite different from the identity of later-generation ethnics, see Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979): 1–20; and Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada, 199), 177–80. Similar ideas are communicated specifically in relation to Ukrainian Canadians in Robert Bogdan Klymasz, *Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition* (New York: Arno Press, 1980).

38. Nahachewsky, "Kolomyika," 270–1. This study included a detailed analysis of the structure of different dances, all called *kolomyiky*. According to the measurements used in this study, national *kolomyika* choreographies (all three by Avramenko) averaged twelve different motifs in twelve choreographic phrases each. Children's *kolomyiky* in the

influenced by contemporary Canadian theatrical values and dramatic interest.

   The strong connection between the interwar cultural milieu and the national paradigm in Ukrainian-Canadian dance suggests that similar influences might be apparent in other genres of Ukrainian-Canadian cultural expression as well. Cross-stitch embroidery, Easter-egg writing, choral and dramatic performances, literature, and many other genres that emerged or gained a heightened profile in this period, were influenced by national ideals and came to serve to varying degrees as national or ethnic symbols. Numerous authors have documented the histories of organized performing arts in Canada.[39] Many sources can provide evidence of decorative arts activities, crafts, folk belief, customary lore and verbal lore over the years, however their histories have not yet been assembled.[40] It is likely that each genre has undergone paradigm shifts that resonate to greater or lesser degrees with the shifts in dance.

1980s were more complex than the national *kolomyiky*, with an average of eighteen motifs in 31 choreographic phrases each. Spectacular staged *kolomyiky* for older dancers were even more complex, averaging 62 motifs in 47 phrases. This striking increase in complexity and density of choreographic texture is undoubtedly representative of choreographies for other Ukrainian dances as well.

39. For example, theatre is documented in Krawchuk, *Our Stage*; Iroida Lebid Wynnyc-kyj, "Ukrainian Canadian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942" (M.A. thesis, University of Waterloo, 1976); and Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions," 25–95. Musical activity is documented in Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions," 96–150; Brian Cherwick, "Polkas on the Prairies: Ukrainian Music and the Construction of Identity" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1999); and in contributions by Robert B. Klymasz, Bohdan Zajcew, Zenon Lawryshyn, Ivan Kowaliw, and Walter Klymkiw in the chapter on music in *Visible Symbols*, 49–83. See also Robert B. Klymasz, "The Fine Arts," in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 281–95; my "Ukrainian Performing Arts in Alberta," in *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Historic Sites Services, Alberta Culture, 1988), 211–20.

40. For examples of studies including historical perspectives, see Robert B. Klymasz "Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery," *Material History Bulletin* 26 (1987), 1–5; Andriy Chernevych, "Malanka through the Back Door: Ukrainian New Year's Eve Celebration in East Central Alberta" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2002); Nadya Foty, "A Celebration of Folk Burlesque: Ukrainian Mock Weddings in Saskatchewan" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2002).

The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association: Its Origins and Early Years

Uliana (Elaine) Holowach-Amiot

In the historiography of the Ukrainian-Canadian community relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to youth and their organizational life.[1] Many of the existing histories are local or regional in nature and are written in Ukrainian by members of the given organizations. Hence, they tend to gloss over internal struggles and other problems. The purpose of this essay is to begin exploring the topic of young Ukrainian Canadians during the interwar period by examining the establishment, the programs, and the role of one specific youth group—the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (Soiuz ukrainskoi molodi Kanady, or SUMK).[2]

It is often mistakenly claimed that SUMK, founded in 1931, was the first national Ukrainian youth organization established on Canadian soil.[3]

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1. See Paul Michael Migus, "Ukrainian Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada, 1907–1953" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Ottawa, 1975) for an earlier attempt at a history of this subject.

2. One of the primary sources for this essay is *Ukrainskyi holos*, a Ukrainian language weekly newspaper published in Winnipeg, which documented the history of SUMK by printing reports, convention proceedings, and speeches. Correspondents throughout the country provided an insight into the workings of the organization in their respective communities. I was unable to consult the SUMK archives, which up to 1969 are housed in Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in Ottawa; however, I believe that future research into this archival material will supplement but not alter the findings herein presented.

3. N. L. Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka Soiuzu ukrainskoi molodi Kanady, 1931–1956* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1956).

The Association of Ukrainian Labour Youth, the youth wing of the pro-Communist Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, was founded in 1924.[4] The mainstream Ukrainian community in Canada still refuses to accept the left-wing element as part of the fabric of Ukrainian-Canadian society. Although the Association of Ukrainian Labour Youth never attained the membership and public support of SUMK, it must be acknowledged as a Ukrainian organization.

SUMK was founded as a component member of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (Soiuz ukraintsiv samostiinykiv, or SUS). The beginnings of SUS go back to the early twentieth century and the *narodovtsi,* who were instrumental in establishing the weekly newspaper *Ukrainskyi holos* in 1910, setting up student residences (*bursy)*, most notably Saskatoon's Petro Mohyla Institute in 1916, and organizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1918. SUS itself was formalized as a national coordinating body in 1927. The principles upon which the League was based were self-respect for individuals, organizations, and nations, self-help, and self-reliance in political, economic, and religious life.[5] As a SUS affiliate, SUMK naturally subscribed to this ideology.

The idea of a youth organization originated in the 1920s during national or "people's" conventions (*narodni zizdy*) hosted annually by the three institutes in the Prairie provinces—the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, its affiliate in Winnipeg, and the Mykhailo Hrushevsky (now St. John's) Institute in Edmonton.[6] At these forums discussions centred not only on the institutes and their needs but also on the Ukrainian question in Europe and the place of Ukrainians in Canadian society. Student circles had already been in existence for several years. Both the 1927 convention, which gave birth to SUS and supported the centralization of student clubs under the Head Office of Ukrainian Student Circles (Tsentralia ukrainskykh studentskykh kruzhkiv),[7] and the 1928 gathering

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4. Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 497–8; Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg and Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 404.

5. *Soiuz ukraintsiv samostiinykiv v Kanadi: Printsipy i prohrama* (Winnipeg: U-krainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1928), 3; Iuliian V. Stechyshyn, *Mizh ukraintsiamy v Kanadi* (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1953), 26–7.

6. By the 1930s these conventions became the annual general meetings of SUS and its component organizations.

7. Iuliian V. Stechyshyn, "Istoriia Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v

pointed out the need for a youth organization that would be part of the SUS family and would encompass not only students, but all young people. It would prepare young people for their future role in the Ukrainian-Canadian community. It would forestall assimilation and in the process train a corps of energetic, enthusiastic, and dedicated workers to which the older generation of community leaders could pass the torch. The 1927 convention passed a resolution to form a committee of seven people to look into this issue. The rectors of the three institutes and the administrator of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada were ex-officio members of the committee. Its mandate was to encourage the founding of local youth groups at People's Homes (*narodni domy*), community centres, and church parishes and, more importantly, to prepare a blueprint for a central organization, including its by-laws and programs.[8]

The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (Soiuz ukrainok Kanady, or SUK), a national body that was established in 1926 and came under the umbrella of SUS in the following year,[9] was concerned about girls and young women. At the national convention in 1927, SUK acknowledged the need for an "exemplary and ideal upbringing for our girls" and resolved that its branches set up groups under their leadership to fill the existing void. A speaker suggested the possibility of a group akin to the Girl Guides, whose aims and by-laws could be adapted to suit the needs of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.[10] The scouting association Plast, which was active at the time in Western Ukraine, was occasionally mentioned in such discussions. There appears to have been a Plast group in Toronto, as well as one in Canora, Saskatchewan, whose members regarded the Mohyla Institute as their temporary headquarters.[11] Plast as an organized movement, however, did not gain momentum in Canada until after the Second World War.

Saskatuni," in *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada, 1945), 201, 229. It was also known as the Head Office of Ukrainian Students of Canada (Tsentralia ukrainskykh studentiv Kanady).

8. Stechyshyn, "Istoriia Ukrainskoho instytutu," 201; Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 33; *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 May 1929.

9. In addition to SUK, SUMK, and the institutes, the SUS family included the Union of Ukrainian Community Centres (Soiuz ukrainskykh narodnykh domiv). In this "family" of organizations SUS was the father, SUK the mother, and SUMK the offspring.

10. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 December 1927, 8 and 15 February 1928.

11. Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 33; *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 February 1928 and 5 February 1930.

Meanwhile, young people in Ukrainian rural settlements and urban centres were engaged in a variety of cultural pursuits. There were choral and amateur drama groups, mandolin orchestras, and various children's and youth societies, which were often divided into boys' and girls' sections. These were led by Ukrainian public school teachers, Ukrainian school (*ridna shkola*) teachers, mostly from the postwar immigration, and clergy. This local activity formed the basis for the subsequent organization and growth of SUMK. Not all young people were interested in these undertakings. Many, particularly in areas where adults were not supportive of Ukrainian-Canadian community activism, preferred the anonymity of fitting into Anglo-Canadian society.

The SUS committee planning a national youth organization reported to the 1930 convention held in Edmonton during the last days of December. The delegates approved the by-laws presented by Wasyl Swystun,[12] and SUMK was born.[13] Its original name was the Association of Ukrainian Eagles and Eaglets (Tovarystvo ukrainskykh orliv i orliat). The eagle symbolized a free person, unsubmissive, courageous, progressive, and striving for new heights. These words reflected SUS ideology. Some people objected that eagles and eaglets were too close to the white eagle, Poland's official emblem. The name was changed to SUMK at the end of 1931.[14]

The structure of SUMK was based on that of Sich, a mass physical education and fire-fighting organization that was active in Galicia from 1900 to 1930 and spread from there to Bukovyna, Transcarpathia, and Ukrainian communities abroad. Like SUS, Sich strove to promote national consciousness and raise the cultural and educational level of the peasantry and the working class. SUMK's organizational terminology was initially modelled on that of the Cossacks: a branch was called a company (*sotnia*); a leader or president was an *otaman*, and so on. Beginning in the mid-1930s a more modern terminology was adopted. Each *sotnia* was named after a hetman, a colonel, or a prominent figure in Ukrainian history, and each was assigned a number depending on when it was formed. Saskatoon was number one.

12. Hryhory Tyzuk credited Swystun with formulating the by-laws (*Ukrainskyi holos*, 23 May 1934).

13. The SUMK by-laws were fully outlined in the 17 December 1930 issue of *Ukrainskyi holos*.

14. Stechyshyn, "Istoriia Ukrainskoho instytutu," 245–6; *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 March and 4 May 1932.

The number of members in a *sotnia* varied. Boys and girls had separate executives, but they belonged to the same *sotnia*. The top male and female leaders were chosen or recommended by the local SUMK advisory council, composed of three men and three women. Other executive positions were filled by individuals elected by the general membership. Young people were divided into two groups according to age: teenagers between twelve and sixteen years of age, and older youths seventeen and over. These dividing lines were often modified depending on the size, dynamics, and preferences of the individual *sotnia*.

The goal of the organization was to educate young people to be exemplary citizens of Canada and contributing members of the Ukrainian community. Character building was an essential component of the program. SUMK members were taught to be loyal to the Dominion of Canada and to the British Empire and at the same time, to love and respect the Ukrainian people, language, church, faith, and traditions, as well as their parents and elders.[15] They pledged to fulfil their duties to God and country, to help others, and to be prepared for work and sacrifice.

The program consisted of formal meetings, lectures, debates, speeches, theatre, drama, Ukrainian folk dancing, singing, music, the study of Ukrainian literature, setting up libraries, social gatherings, sports, and choreographed exercises (*vpravy*). Debates were held within and between locals and dealt with serious subjects such as economic or political issues. Girls did Ukrainian handicrafts, including embroidery and Easter-egg painting, under the supervision of local SUK branches. Some locals even conducted first aid courses. SUMK's and student groups' programs overlapped to some extent. Many people who had been involved in the student circles, mostly public school teachers, joined the newly formed youth association and assumed positions of leadership.

In May 1931 SUS and the institutes engaged Hryhory Tyzuk as a field worker and youth organizer. Tyzuk, born in Volhynia, had come to Canada two years earlier and taught Ukrainian school in Saskatchewan. He began his recruitment drive in Saskatchewan and then extended it to Manitoba. In each locality he followed more or less the same pattern: he attracted large audiences with his lectures on young people and the current situation in Ukraine and spent several days organizing a SUMK local and teaching *vpravy*, Ukrainian dancing, public speaking, debating,

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15. SUS constructed an early version of the ideology of multiculturalism.

and meeting procedures. This work culminated in a concert and play that showcased the talents of the new SUMK members. Upon his departure local leadership was provided by committed adults, public school teachers, and Ukrainian Orthodox clergy. In mid-September 1931 Tyzuk presented an official report to SUS, under the presidency of Myroslaw Stechishin, and to the head of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, Father Semen W. Sawchuk. A temporary central office was set up in the Winnipeg institute, and its rector, Andrij Pawlik, became SUMK's first secretary. He held this post for five years and contributed much to the smooth operation and expansion of the association. By the fifteenth national convention in Saskatoon in December 1931, there were eight SUMK locals with 340 members. This rose to thirty locals with 1,500 members by the end of the following year.[16]

SUMK's rapid growth is all the more impressive in light of the traumatic events suffered by the Ukrainian community in the 1930s: the campaign against the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Soviet Ukraine culminating in the show trial of the so-called Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the suppression of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; the "pacification" of Ukrainians in Galicia by the Polish authorities; and, closer to home, the onset of the Great Depression. SUS and the institutes could barely make ends meet in this time of financial crisis and unemployment. Funds for paying a SUMK organizer were scarce.[17] But the community considered SUMK to be vitally important and supported the project. It saw SUMK as a means of keeping the Ukrainian culture, traditions, and language alive in Canada in the face of Soviet and Polish repression in the homeland and the harsh assimilationist climate in the New World.

According to SUMK by-laws, the national executive of SUMK was to be chosen by representatives of national SUS, its affiliates, and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.[18] The first SUMK executive, appointed after the 1931 convention, consisted of Father Semen Sawchuk as president, Myroslaw Stechishin as vice president, and Andrij Pawlik as secretary. The headquarters initially were located in

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16. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 March 1932, 10 May 1933.

17. In his report to the 1931 national convention Tyzuk stated that he had not requested any remuneration for his services (*Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 March 1932).

18. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 5 June 1935.

Winnipeg. These individuals, who were leading figures in SUS and served concurrently on its board of directors, ensured oversight by the parent body. It is interesting that although SUMK was a secular association, its first president was a priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.[19] In his speech at the 1932 national convention, Myroslaw Stechishin outlined SUS's policy towards the church. He maintained that only a church controlled by Ukrainians and not under foreign influence could be truly Ukrainian. SUS was an ideological, rather than a religious organization, and the two should not be confused. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, he claimed, met the aforementioned criterion.[20] Father Sawchuk remained in his position as president for an additional term and then became SUMK's long-time chaplain.

The publication of articles in *Ukrainskyi holos* about Tyzuk's accomplishments sparked interest in those areas where the youth were not yet organized. Accolades for Tyzuk and words of encouragement for SUMK members regularly appeared in the newspaper. The following excerpt by Ivan Shchur, a correspondent from Swan Plain, Saskatchewan, was typical. Asserting that Tyzuk would steer them along the "right path," Shchur addressed young people directly.

> You, young stonecutters (*kameniari*), peel off the scales of darkness, servitude, and bondage, for on your shoulders lies the fate of the Ukrainian people. Do not spare any labour; prove that you are good sons and daughters of Mother Ukraine. Show, also, that you are good Canadians. Demonstrate that you know how to respect Canadian freedom. Show your parents that you have truly embarked on the road of knowledge and enlightenment.[21]

In October 1932 a second SUMK organizer, the seventeen-year-old Pavlo Yavorsky, was hired. Born and raised in Saskatchewan, Yavorsky began his work in that province and was assigned to Alberta in the following year. He travelled throughout the country from Vancouver to Montreal, establishing new branches and strengthening existing ones. His only source of income were the proceeds (from five to ten dollars) from

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19. The relationship between SUS/SUMK and the church merits further investigation, particularly in view of the fact that there were Catholic members in SUMK's ranks.

20. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 April 1933; Myroslaw Stechyshyn, *Soiuz ukraintsiv samostiinykiv v Kanadi i obiednannia ukrainskoho narodu* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1933), 10–19.

21. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 18 November 1931.

the concert in each locality prior to his departure.[22] This work demanded idealism, enthusiasm, and a love for adventure.

The burgeoning SUMK branches quickly expanded their activity beyond local concerns by calling their own youth rallies and by participating in regional or district SUS conventions. Several SUMK jamboree-conventions were held in 1933, attended by up to a thousand people. The day would begin with the Divine Liturgy or prayers, followed by lunch, prepared by the local SUK branch. In the afternoon there were joint and separate marching processions, *vpravy*, sports events, and speeches by SUMK, SUS, and SUK leaders. Sometimes parts of the speeches were in English for the benefit of non-Ukrainian participants. Often the mayor of the host town or a prominent Canadian from the area greeted the assembly. The gathering concluded with a mass concert. At one such jamboree in Ashville, Manitoba, in August 1933, members were urged not to waste time: "Free time is the enemy of youth because it allows engaging in frivolous pranks. One must make the most of free time and attend rehearsals, always learning something more. SUMK, understanding, and love must unite us." Tyzuk then explained that the four letters in SUMK symbolize its ideals: strength (*syla*), intellect (*um*), morality (*moral*), and discipline (*karnist*).[23] Among the subjects discussed at a jamboree in Alberta were the Ukrainian language, personal health, and abstinence from alcohol and tobacco.[24]

District SUS conventions provided SUMK members with the opportunity to hear presentations on current economic, political, educational, and organizational issues. If time permitted, there were separate business sessions of SUS affiliates, including SUMK, which passed resolutions. These were small-scale versions of the national conventions, at which SUMK was officially represented. Regional meetings fulfilled an important function: they brought the organization to the grass-roots level, made members feel part of the decision-making process, and revitalized the local SUS family.

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22. On three occasions, Yavorsky received a more substantial honorarium from the communities he served. Yavorsky's memoirs were self-published in 1992 in Ternopil, Ukraine, under the title *Starymy stezhkamy*. In 1938 Yavorsky resigned as SUMK organizer and went to work with Vasile Avramenko on the production of the films *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* and *Natalka Poltavka*.

23. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 September 1933.

24. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 November 1933.

SUMK supported Ukrainian-Canadian institutions. In particular, it played an active role in *Ukrainskyi holos* campaigns to secure new subscribers. In April 1933 SUMK's head office announced a contest in which the local branch that obtained the greatest number of subscribers would win a trip to the World Grain Exhibition in Regina that summer. There were challenges and friendly rivalry among branches that continued past the contest deadline into 1934. Special events were organized to raise money for the newspaper's press fund. In lieu of financial contributions, locals sometimes funded gift subscriptions for individuals. At the end of 1934, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Ukrainskyi holos*, Tyzuk appealed to the SUMK membership to devote one year of work to the newspaper, which he called a "weekly friend," advisor, guide, and guest. He proposed that donations collected in 1935 be used for a new building.[25] Although these ambitious plans were not realized, the youth worked diligently in support of the anniversary fund. The new Calgary SUMK branch, with the assistance of other community leaders, raised $143.50 towards this cause.[26] SUMK recognized the importance of the printed word as an educational tool and a unifying force that linked together Ukrainian Canadians in the different regions of the country.

Ukrainskyi holos inaugurated a special SUMK section on 18 October 1933, which included reports on the activities of SUMK locals, as well as articles on contemporary issues and historical themes. This facilitated the exchange of thoughts and ideas and gave young people a chance to try their hand at journalism and creative writing. Moreover, it kept the association in the public eye not only within Canada but also abroad. In order to liven up this page, written debates on specified resolutions and a "Dear Father Taras" column were introduced in the fall of 1935. The latter featured a reborn Taras Shevchenko, who answered questions and gave advice on any topic concerning Ukrainian life and love. Father Taras encouraged members to write: "You have started working so sincerely and have so boldly taken a stand in the defence of your people that I had to rise from the grave and come all the way here to Canada to see with my own eyes the youth that call themselves SUMK.... I shall be of service to you, as I have always been to the whole Ukrainian nation."[27]

25. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 5 December 1934.

26. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 20 March 1935.

27. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 4 December 1935.

In April 1934 the Regina SUMK branch launched a monthly journal entitled *Sumkivskyi holos*, which was six to seven mimeographed pages in length. It was not meant to be a local newsletter, but rather a literary forum for youth. Natalka Kohuska, quoting Tyzuk, refers to an undisclosed plan to turn the journal over to *Ukrainskyi holos* for publication as the official SUMK organ when it reached a circulation of two thousand. Some branches contributed to the SUMK section in *Ukrainskyi holos*, while others submitted articles to *Sumkivskyi holos.* This led to a lively discussion in which many felt that the interesting and informative material in Regina's journal would have greater exposure in the established newspaper.[28] The participants in the SUMK session at the 1935 national convention confirmed the importance of *Sumkivskyi holos.*[29] Shortly thereafter the journal was discontinued without ever surpassing two hundred subscribers in its sixteen-month existence.

SUMK was aware of events occurring beyond Canadian borders. A Ukrainian Youth Congress, with representation from Canada and the United States, was held 16–17 August 1933, during Ukrainian Week at the Chicago World's Fair. The delegate from SUMK was Andrij Pawlik. SUMK took part in public meetings and raised its voice in protest against the manmade famine in Ukraine. At one of the jamboree-conventions in Alberta in November 1933, members were exhorted to "protest the barbarism of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine. We must appeal to the civilized world, to people's hearts, in order to turn their attention to the savagery of Bolshevik tyrants that murder millions of Ukrainians in Ukraine."[30]

By the end of 1933 there were sixty locals with a combined membership of two thousand.[31] Each branch had its own flag, which was blessed in church in the presence of ceremonial godparents prior to being used.[32] The flags were blue and yellow, but differed in the ornamenta-

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28. Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 87–93.

29. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 24 July 1935.

30. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 November 1933.

31. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 23 May 1934.

32. In his memoirs Pavlo Yavorsky describes one particularly moving ceremony, which took place in Hamilton in August 1937 (*Starymy stezhkamy*, 36–7). One of the godparents at this blessing of the Hamilton and Preston SUMK flags was General Volodymyr Sikevych, who had served as brigadier general of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic during the Ukrainian struggle for independence. Before entrusting the flags to the locals, Sikevych gave an impassioned speech on the meaning of flags in the public and military life of a nation.

tion. At the centre of Montreal's flag was a trident, encircled by the name and number of the branch. On one side was a small Union Jack and on the other, the figure of the Archangel Michael, the guardian of the Cossacks and the protector of the Ukrainian people.[33] Many locals instituted a dress code. Girls wore white blouses and black skirts, while boys were dressed in black pants and light blue or white shirts. To distinguish the different branches boys wore different coloured ties and girls had blouses with unique embroidery patterns. A group call (*klych*), which was shouted enthusiastically at the conclusion of SUMK activities and upon greeting or bidding farewell to guests, was adopted.[34]

SUMK conducted its first separate sessions at the national convention of SUS in 1933. These gatherings were a source of inspiration and new ideas. They set policy and laid the groundwork for the future of the association. The convention's keynote speaker, Professor Vladimir Timoshenko, an economist and economic historian who had taught at Cornell University and was currently at the University of Michigan, addressed the 105 SUMK delegates assembled in Saskatoon.[35] One of the resolutions called for a SUMK travelling library that would bolster previous attempts by the national executive to promote the reading of Ukrainian literature and history among members. Unfortunately, the continuing economic crisis and the demands of other causes undermined the project. An oratory contest was initiated and became an annual convention event that encouraged SUMK members to hone their public speaking skills and improve their Ukrainian. In 1934 the directors and the editorial board of *Ukrainskyi holos* donated a plaque to reward the winner. Its first recipient was Maria Tkachuk from Melville, Saskatchewan, who spoke on "What November the First Teaches Us."[36]

Although SUMK's strength thus far was centred in the three Prairie provinces, the youth movement was beginning to gain momentum in eastern Canada. By the end of 1933 there were two branches in Ontario.[37] In June 1935 Montreal's Young Ukraine (Moloda Ukraina),

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33. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 27 November 1935.

34. One key line stated: "We shall work sincerely and not pay attention to the enemy."

35. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 May 1934.

36. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 23 January 1935. November the First refers to the 1918 November Uprising (*Lystopadovyi zryv*) in Lviv and the proclamation of statehood in Western Ukraine.

37. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 23 May 1934.

a group that met at St. Sophia Ukrainian Orthodox Church and included pupils from Sunday and Ukrainian schools as well as young people from the Ivan Kotliarevsky Student Society, joined SUMK.[38] SUMK maintained relations with Luh, an independent youth group affiliated with the Ukrainian People's Home in Toronto. Following a break in Luh activity, a Toronto SUMK branch was formed in December 1936. Three Alberta teachers spent the summer of 1935 travelling across much of Canada and the eastern United States with a series of lectures and debates to promote the organization among youth. They remarked that progress was evident in locales with dedicated leadership and expressed surprise and concern that Toronto did not have the time to engage in a debate.[39] This set the stage for the arrival of Pavlo Yavorsky in 1937. He lost no time in arranging the first eastern Canadian convention of SUMK, held in August of that year in Hamilton, the seat of SUMK's first branch in the east. It was attended by approximately 150 members from Ontario and Quebec. A committee, comprised of advisors, chaplains, and interested individuals from Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and Windsor, was chosen to oversee the growth of SUMK.[40]

Things did not go smoothly, however. During the formative period some communities doubted that SUMK would succeed. Occasionally, branches suffered as a result of the ridicule and derision of individual personalities. In some locals, after the organizer's departure, commitment waned, work lagged, and young people became indifferent. A correspondent commented: "We should not think that SUMK is not interesting for us because we do not dance at meetings. We shall not make our living by dancing, nor will dancing advance our careers. No!... The SUMK organization will lead us along a better path than the *kolomyika* or the quadrille. We learn literature, geography, songs, and so on. At dances we learn nothing of the kind."[41] The association tried to be self-sufficient but had financial difficulties. At times there were not even sufficient funds to pay for postage. Membership dues were minimal: the national office received only a penny per person per month.[42] Several branches

38. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 June and 17 July 1935.

39. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 8 January and 22 April 1936.

40. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 29 September and 13 October 1937; Yavorsky, *Starymy stezhkamy*, 32–3.

41. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 15 May 1935.

42. Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 117; *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 February 1939.

donated the proceeds from plays or concerts to the national executive.[43] Despite such setbacks, SUMK forged ahead. In the words of a member from Saskatoon: "SUMK does not know the meaning of I cannot, I do not want, I do not know."[44]

Possibly a more significant obstacle was the active opposition of various elements from within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. In January 1933 the Society for the Aid of the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (TODOVYRNAZU), a pro-Communist group established by and closely linked to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, began a campaign to discredit "nationalist" organizations, including SUS and its affiliates. TODOVYRNAZU issued a circular under the title *Rozhornim udarnyi nastup na zhovtoblakytnykiv* (Let Us Launch a Shock Attack against the Yellow-and-Blues), which outlined a plan of action and described the tactics to be used.[45] It urged its followers to attend SUS, People's Home, and youth meetings and cultivate personal contacts in order to sow discord and spread distrust of the leadership, and to propagate their own ideology. In one instance the pro-Communists attempted to disrupt Tyzuk's lecture in Hyas, Saskatchewan, but were evicted. They initiated a court action against SUMK, but the judges ruled against them.[46] Both SUS and SUMK denounced these tactics, while Tyzuk called upon members to "loathe that which is Bolshevik."[47] The controversy generated confusion among young people who were not yet fully committed to any organization and fuelled animosity between the two camps.

Another problem arose with the Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrainske natsionalne obiednannia, or UNO), founded in Edmonton in 1932 mostly by interwar immigrants who sought to expand the base of support for the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv, or OUN) in Europe. In contrast to this, SUS did not ally itself with any political party outside Canada and refrained from direct involvement with Old World political factions.[48] This led to

43. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 4 May and 3 August 1932.

44. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 June 1935.

45. I am indebted to Myron Momryk of LAC for locating this circular. LAC, Julian Stechishin Fonds, MG30 D307 [ACC. 84/392], vol. 4, file 5.

46. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 16 and 23 May 1934.

47. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 May 1934.

48. *Soiuz ukraintsiv samostiinykiv v Kanadi: Printsipy i prohrama*, 9–10; Stechyshyn,

polemics regarding the role of the Ukrainian community in Canada and resulted in written and verbal attacks on SUMK and Tyzuk, which were detailed in the correspondence to *Ukrainskyi holos*. In a letter, Tyzuk quoted the UNO organizer, Petro Kuzyk, as saying that Tyzuk "tramples the hearts of young people and sows gangrene."[49] At the 1937 national convention the national secretary-treasurer of SUMK, Illia Kiriak, reported on UNO efforts to undermine the youth association. The UNO organizer was urging members in certain regions to set up branches of the Young Ukrainian Nationalists (Molodi ukrainski natsionalisty, or MUN), the UNO youth wing.[50] This prompted Tyzuk to respond: "Do not drag youth into your squabbles. Leave SUMK on the sidelines; do your job with MUN.... There are hundreds of areas that are just waiting for someone to come and do some work, but MUN members are not there; they go to places where an organization already exists in order to destroy it."[51]

Despite ties with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, SUMK had an open-door policy and accepted young people regardless of their religious affiliation. By 1937, however, the Ukrainian Catholic clergy began to discourage their faithful from belonging to SUMK and even threaten them with exclusion from the sacrament of Holy Confession. Kiriak observed that religious intolerance cost SUMK members and even entire branches whose membership was mostly Catholic.[52]

Nevertheless, the association continued to grow and flourish. By the mid-1930s it had expanded its activities and become more involved in church and community life as a whole. SUMK organized concerts to celebrate Ukrainian national holidays and to honour historic events and personages, such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka,

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Mizh ukraintsiamy v Kanadi, 27–8. It must be noted, however, that in the early 1930s, SUS did flirt with the idea of cooperation with OUN. See Oleh W. Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 157–86.

49. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 6 September 1933.

50. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 September 1937. Since 1963 it has been known as the Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada (Molod Ukrainskoho natsionalnoho obiednannia, or MUNO).

51. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 20 April 1938. Tyzuk appears to have been a colourful and controversial figure. It is hoped that future research will reveal additional information on his career and his relations with the various factions in the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

52. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 September 1937.

Ukrainian independence, the 1918 November Uprising in Lviv, and Mother's Day. These were held either independently or in conjunction with other groups, in particular SUK and People's Homes. Occasionally, the Ukrainian-Canadian community held joint commemorations, the proceeds of which were often donated to benevolent causes such as supporting Ukrainian invalids in Galicia. SUMK helped and, in some instances, conducted classes in Ukrainian schools, thus fostering the use of the Ukrainian language and ensuring a steady supply of future members for its organization. In 1934 SUMK branches contributed financially to the Jubilee Fund to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. On 6 May 1935 the Winnipeg SUMK members and about eight hundred other young Ukrainian Canadians participated in the ceremonies of the Silver Jubilee of King George V's reign.[53]

The 1935 national convention in Saskatoon proved to be one of the most memorable of the decade. Held in summer at the Municipal Stadium on the Exhibition Grounds and featuring an exposition of handicrafts sponsored by SUK, it was seen as a vehicle to showcase the community and to educate the Anglo-Canadian public about Ukrainians. Stefan A. Sklepovych instructed SUMK members how to behave so as to demonstrate that Ukrainians were not "bohunks" or "foreigners": "Be noble, but cheerful, not stifled in spirit. Girls, do not exaggerate your beauty; and boys, do not think that a cigarette in your mouth will make you very dignified.... We have definite aspirations and ideas. It is imperative to show that Ukrainians, although a stateless people, are not losing hope and are building a better future."[54] Tyzuk scheduled branch visits to rehearse *vpravy*, tower building, songs, and dances in preparation for the joint performance.[55] Four topics of concern were raised at the SUMK session: the Ukrainian language, character development, citizenship, and commerce.[56] The convention highlights—the SUMK concert and *vpravy*— were captured on film and later shown across Canada as a visual tribute and promotional tool.[57]

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53. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 May 1935.

54. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 June 1935.

55. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 15 May 1935.

56. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 24 July 1935.

57. This film, transferred to video, is located in the Archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Experience at the University of Manitoba. It was donated in 2002 by Dr. Roman Yereniuk

The national executive of SUMK initiated a number of projects. It issued several publications, including a pocket-sized SUMK calendar for 1935, containing poetry, short articles, a directory of locals, and a list of important dates. It compiled collections of materials—plays, instrumental music, seasonal songs, dialogues, recitations, and *vpravy*—to be used for Christmas, Shevchenko, and Mother's Day concerts.[58] The SUMK queen contest, designed to raise funds, was introduced at the 1936 convention. The candidate with the highest ticket sales was declared the winner. In 1936 Maria Markowska from Meacham, Saskatchewan, was crowned convention queen.[59] Similar contests were conducted at the regional and provincial levels. A fifteen-minute SUMK radio program debuted in Edmonton in September 1936. It featured concert items and speeches by prominent individuals such as Olgerd Bochkovsky, a lecturer at the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Czechoslovakia who had been invited to Canada by SUS and had addressed the 1936 national convention.[60] After nine broadcasts the program was cancelled because of lack of funding.[61] In October of that year SUMK launched a fund raising campaign for training regional instructors,[62] which culminated in an eight-week leadership course at the Mohyla Institute in February 1937. The seven male participants received instruction in Ukrainian orthography, literature, citizenship, history, the church and the people, music theory, and organizational skills. In addition, they practiced debating, singing, dancing, orchestra, and sports with the other student residents of the institute.[63] Finally, in July 1937, a SUMK carnival took place in Sandy Lake, Manitoba, which included the coronation of the SUMK queen and a Ukrainian national costume competition.

It became necessary to devise a new structure to administer the increasing number of SUMK branches more effectively and to keep the

from the personal archives of the late Hryhory Tyzuk.

58. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 November 1935, 22 January 1936.

59. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 August 1936.

60. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 16 September 1936. For biographical data on Bochkovsky, see *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 1: 250. The speeches were printed in *Ukrainskyi holos*.

61. The SUMK radio program appears to have been briefly resurrected in early 1937. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 17 February 1937.

62. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 28 October 1936.

63. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 April 1937.

momentum alive locally. The national executive and Petro Krypiakevych, a Canadian-born teacher who replaced Tyzuk as the chief SUMK organizer in 1935,[64] proposed a system of provincial and district councils that was adopted at the 1936 national convention. Each province was divided into districts, which had their own number and a name based on a location of historical significance in Ukraine. Each district, composed of eight to ten locals, had its own executive, called its own gatherings, and was accountable to the provincial council. The provincial councils, in turn, were responsible for the work in their provinces. The latter were abolished in 1937 to avoid duplication of tasks.[65] By the end of 1937 SUMK had 6,500 members organized in 168 locals.[66] At the end of the decade it expanded into the United States, establishing branches in Pembina, North Dakota, and Hallock, Minnesota, near the Canadian border.[67]

SUMK maintained contacts with Ukrainian organizations and publications in the United States, Europe, and Asia, most notably with the Ukrainian Youth Association (Spilka ukrainskoi molodi, or SUM) in Manchuria.[68] SUM requested assistance in the form of periodicals and other written materials and modelled itself on the SUMK by-laws.[69] The national executive also had ties with the Ukrainian Youth League of America (Liga ukrainskoi molodi Ameryky, or LUMA), a coalition of secular, non-partisan youth groups founded in Chicago in 1933. Their representative, Volodymyr Zhelekhivsky, attended the 1938 eastern SUMK convention in Toronto, which was filmed by Vasile Avramenko and shown during the screening of *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*. Victor Kliukevych was the unofficial SUMK observer at the LUMA congress in Pittsburgh shortly thereafter.[70] Many SUMK locals subscribed to *Ridna*

64. Tyzuk became an insurance agent; nevertheless, he still maintained a close association with SUMK and worked to promote the organization. In fact, SUMK chose him as its representative, or agent, for 1936–1937 (*Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 August 1936).

65. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 August 1936 and 25 August and 8 September 1937.

66. Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 136.

67. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 10 May and 21 June 1939.

68. This association is not to be confused with the youth group bearing the same name established in Germany in 1946.

69. Kohuska, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 116–19; *Ukrainskyi holos*, 11 December 1935, 12 August 1936.

70. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 28 September and 12–26 October 1938.

mova, a journal promoting the development of literary Ukrainian. It was published in Warsaw and edited by Professor Ivan Ohiienko.[71] SUMK followed events in Ukraine and in 1938 joined SUS in condemning the Polish government's expropriation of Ukrainskyi Horod, Sokil-Batko's sports field in Lviv. SUMK members also protested the disbanding of the Union of Ukrainian Women (Soiuz ukrainok), the largest women's organization in Western Ukraine in the interwar period. At the beginning of 1939 the national executive urged each branch to contribute towards school libraries in the towns and villages of Carpatho-Ukraine to further cultural renewal in the nascent state.[72]

SUMK experienced phenomenal success in the 1930s. Although it did not encompass all Ukrainian-Canadian youth, it was a force to be reckoned with and its network stretched across the country. This may be attributed to the watchful guidance of the SUS parent body and to the talent of the organizers. The organization's multifaceted activities centred on Ukrainian culture, education, citizenship, and leadership. SUMK trained the future leaders of SUS, the Ukrainian-Canadian community, and Canadian society in general.[73]

71. Ohiienko joined the ranks of the clergy in Poland, becoming metropolitan and taking the name Ilarion. He came to Canada after the Second World War and was elected Primate of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

72. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 February 1939.

73. A few notable examples from this period are: John Decore, federal politician and judge, who had served as president of SUMK in 1936–37; John Solomon, judge and deputy speaker of the Manitoba legislature; and Bohdan Gordon Panchuk, who founded the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association in 1943 and secured Ukrainian support in North America for refugee relief.

Father Nicholas Shumsky and the Struggle for a Ukrainian Catholic Identity

Myroslaw Tataryn

Introduction

On 5 April 1932 the Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Winnipeg, Vasyl Ladyka, wrote a letter chastising the pastor of the Windsor parish, Ontario, Fr. Nicholas Shumsky:

> Church brotherhoods are very valuable to the spiritual development of the parish when they are well led and supported. This takes much work, but produces great benefits.… As I understand, the Marian League in Windsor is almost inactive and thus there is much dissatisfaction that the priest is very interested in nationalist associations and has almost completely forgotten church organizations. Therefore it is worthwhile to attend to this and enliven the women's church organization, which can do much for the parish as we see among other Catholics.[1]

The "nationalist associations" mentioned here are the Striltsi[2] and Sichovyky,[3] two rival organizations devoted to establishing an inde-

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1. Ladyka's letter to Shumsky, 5 April 1932. I am grateful to Mr. Walter Shumsky, Fr. Shumsky's son, for making this and other letters in his possession available to me.

2. This organization was formed in 1928 as the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association to bring together veterans of the Ukrainian Revolution. Later it gave rise to the Ukrainian National Federation. See Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg and Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1970), 398–401.

3. The Canadian Sitch Organization was a conservative Ukrainian monarchist group, commonly called *hetmanivtsi* for its support of the Ukrainian hetman. It had attracted the

pendent Ukrainian state. In an earlier letter to his bishop Shumsky described his work with them as follows: "Up to now all my time has been spent on bringing them closer together, so that they would work together for the good of the parish.... When one understands these matters one sees that neither group has ever been given preferred treatment because the parish has to be led according to the principles of Christ, church law, and the direction of church authorities."[4] Shumsky's attempt to include these organizations' members in parish life was embodied in an agreement between the Striltsi organization and the parish, dated 20 December 1930. Bishop Ladyka, a member of the Ukrainian Catholic Order of St. Basil the Great, shared his order's view of the priestly vocation. "Most Basilians were animated by a spirit and discipline that concentrated on obtaining eternal salvation for their flock. The Ukrainian national movement and social activism were definitely subordinate to preserving the immigrants' faith and allegiance to the Catholic church."[5] Shumsky's career reflected a different conception of priesthood, preferred by the young intelligentsia: "Taking the worldly, married secular priests of eastern Galicia as their model, they preferred priests who participated in political life and established reading clubs, drama circles, co-operative stores, and temperance societies."[6] Thus Ladyka and Shumsky exemplify contrasting views of religion and its place in social and personal life. These views also underlay the polemic between the neophyte Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the established Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada in the 1920s: the Catholics denounced the Orthodox as anti-religious nationalist apostates, while the Orthodox condemned the Catholics for betraying the Ukrainian people.

According to one view, religion is the highest sphere of life and demands complete commitment, excluding any other (social, political, or cultural) interests and commitments. This view presupposes that religion is not only distinct but also separate from the other spheres of life, and many contemporary theologians and religion specialists challenge this presupposition. In his landmark work *Method in Theology,* Bernard

support of a number of priests, including A. Sarmatiuk, N. Drohomyrecky, and N. Bartman (Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 394).

4. Letter of 17 March 1932, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

5. Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 197.

6. Ibid.

Lonergan clearly recognizes that religion is not about another sphere of reality, but is an integral part of human experience. American theologians have adopted insights from cultural theory to stress the unity of culture and religion that is "dynamic and conflictual" and continuously renegotiated.[7] Thus religion and culture are understood not as fixed and readily defined unities, but rather as fluid "ensembles of diversity."[8]

In this paper I demonstrate that Fr. Nicholas Shumsky embodied the cultural and religious conflicts in Ukrainian-Canadian society as it negotiated its identity in early twentieth-century Canada. Shumsky did not pursue a single course of action rooted in his tradition, but rather persistently mediated seemingly irreconcilable paths. In fact, he seemed "continually to wander across boundaries and frontiers to find refugee(s) far from home residing, if momentarily, at ever new crossroads."[9]

Fighting Prejudice

Nicholas Shumsky was born on 12 December 1891 in the Stryi region of Galicia. His extant school records demonstrate an unremarkable academic history: in grade six and seven most of his marks were satisfactory, although in grade seven his marks in Polish, German, and Latin fell to unsatisfactory, while his mark in Ukrainian remained good. In 1911 he left for Lviv, where by 1913 he was enrolled in the seminary. On 6 September 1913, with Metropolitan Sheptytsky's blessing, he sailed for Canada, where he graduated from St. Augustine's Seminary in Toronto with an average of seventy-six percent.[10] Between 7 and 28 March 1914 he was ordained to the deaconate and by October to the priesthood. At this time he also became Bishop Budka's secretary. On 21 October 1914 he received his first appointment to the parish of Fort William, Ontario.[11] On 19 June 1915 Bishop Budka reluctantly relieved

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7. Sheila Greeve Davaney, "Theology and the Turn to Cultural Analysis," in *Converging on Culture: Theologians in Dialogue with Cultural Analysis and Criticism*, ed. Delwin Brown, Sheila Greeve Davaney, and Kathryn Tanner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6.

8. Delwin Brown, "Refashioning Self and Other: Theology, Academy, and the New Ethnography," in *Converging on Culture*, 45.

9. Sheila Greeve Davaney, *Pragmatic Historicism: A Theology for the Twenty-First Century* (Albany: State University of New York, 2000), 113–14.

10. Ukrainian Catholic Archive (UCA), Winnipeg, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 7.

11. He was assigned to this parish when Fr. M. Kinash departed for the United States (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 17–19). Although Martynowych sees Kinash's

Shumsky of his secretarial responsibilities and assigned him to the Calgary parish.

The First World War heightened the xenophobia of the dominant British sector of Canadian society. One of the first targets of the anti-immigrant campaign was the Ukrainian-Canadian community.[12] It was not only rocked by press censorship and internment, but also faced daily examples of intolerance, vehement opposition to bilingual schools and second-language instruction,[13] and even job loss without cause.[14] The recently ordained Fr. Shumsky came under attack in September 1915. In a telegram to Bishop Budka on 8 September, a parishioner, Fred Oneski, wrote "Father Shumsky was locked in jail for collecting money for the war fund."[15] Next day Bishop McNally of the Roman Catholic diocese of Calgary sent Budka a clearer note: "Charge treason. Preliminary trial tomorrow. Doing best possible. Will wire result." On 9 September the headline of the *Calgary Daily Herald* read: "Accuse Local Priest of Aiding Enemy," and the article informed the reader that Fr. Shumsky (misnamed Schulsky) and Paul Buczkonsky would be tried for sedition five days later. In a letter to Budka, dated 15 September, Shumsky outlined the events that led to the arrest: a meeting had been held on Sunday, 5 September, at which fund raising for Ukrainian war orphans was discussed. He had merely suggested that the contributions should be deposited in a local bank, since there were objections against sending the money to the office of *Kanadskyi rusyn,* as Budka had directed. He did not stay to the end of the meeting, but left to celebrate Vespers. One of the attendants was drunk and was arrested. During questioning he brought Shumsky's role to the attention of the police. Shumsky was arrested on the

decision as financially motivated and this is supported by correspondence between Shumsky and Kinash, one cannot minimize the tension surrounding Kinash's activity as a politically and socially active widowed priest (Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 206 and 387). In the 1920s Shumsky corresponded with Kinash about the possibility of moving to the United States and went as far as acquiring a passport of the Extraordinary Mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) to the government of the United States, dated 24 January 1924 (a copy of which is in my possession).

12. See Lubomyr Luciuk, *A Time for Atonement: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914–1920* (Kingston, ON.: Limestone Press, 1988).

13. Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 309–44.

14. "Novyny," *Ukrainskyi holos,* 23 February 1916.

15. Letter of 8 September 1915, in Walter Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

following Wednesday and charged with treason (raising money for the enemy). After spending a week in jail, he was released on $200 bail. Awaiting trial, Shumsky wrote in his letter of the 15: "What the result will be I do not know. The lawyer said that I could face internment, it would be difficult to avoid it.… May God's will be done. I want to suffer as much as possible for our people and our faith, but I would like to know the reason. I do not want to do it for some idiot or a drunkard!" He took up the theme of serving the people and the faith in his report to the bishop of 18 September, at the conclusion of his trial. Recalling the time in jail when he was uncertain of the reason for his arrest but had reconciled himself to internment, he wrote: "I remembered how my Children's Group in Winnipeg sang 'for the people and for the faith, we bring ourselves as an offering.'"

Although Shumsky saw himself as suffering for his people, he found that he now had "many acquaintances and good friends among the English." In the Ukrainian community he was popular and secure, yet there were many who were opposed to him and wanted "to send the priest away." From his letters it appears that his imprisonment raised his stature in the wider community more than among Ukrainians. With a sense of humour, which became increasingly noticeable in his correspondence, he wrote: "I have become very popular in Calgary. I am known by the detectives, the policemen, the paper boy, generally, by all the English, and at every step both uniformed and secret police stand at attention." The report on Shumsky's trial in the local paper[16] reflected the racist attitudes towards the Ukrainian immigrants. "It is impertinence and cheek to dare to think of holding meetings in this country," Colonel Sanders said at the trial. Although the judge ruled that there was not enough evidence for a conviction of treason, he ordered the two lay detainees to be interned and Shumsky to report weekly to the police. The Calgary church was in fact closed for nearly two years. Shumsky's case was only the first episode in the harassment of Ukrainian clergy.[17] Similar

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16. "Two Aliens Interned Today by Col. Sanders," *The Calgary Herald*, 17 September 1915.

17. In spite of Shumsky's positive characterization of the results of his arrest, his parish was closed by the authorities for almost two years. The exact cause and dates of the closing are not clear. See Stella Niedzwicki, *Ukrainian Rite Catholic Church: An Account of Church Activities* (Calgary: Century Calgary, 1975), 23. No other extant records of this event have been found.

incidents involved Fr. Philipow, who was arrested but released before trial in Winnipeg in 1916,[18] and Bishop Budka himself.[19]

Unsettled Times

By the summer of 1916 Shumsky had been transferred to Saskatoon, from where he served the settlements northeast of the city until 1919. This was the region where the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church arose. Although I have found no documentation on his attitude towards this development, evidence suggests that he engaged in "border crossing" on this highly contentious issue. Although Bishop Budka had raised concerns about the nature of the newly established Mohyla Institute, Shumsky raised money for it in his parish.[20] The significance of Shumsky's action is underscored by an article on the same page, "First Children's Concert," which notes Fr. A. Delaere's opposition to announcing a children's concert in church. Delaere, one of the leading Belgian Redemptorists working with Ukrainian settlers, was reported as "stating that he wants nothing to do with Ukrainian teachers." His stance was based on the Redemptorist and Basilian fear of what they perceived as secularist attitudes.[21] The editors of *Ukrainskyi holos* had criticized them for this as early as 1910: "There is not a drop of patriotism in our Basilians. It is their business to be concerned with heaven rather than with Shevchenko, Sichynsky, Kahanets, Kotsko, student residences, organizations or enlightenment—yet, we are faced with the kind of vital questions that cannot be avoided or patched up by contemplating heaven."[22] Shumsky's approach allied him more closely with the secularist nationalists than the pious priests serving the community. His "border crossing" was supported by *Ukrainskyi holos*: "We are pleased to announce that until

18. UCA, Nykyta Budka fond, no. 1159.

19. Martynowych *Ukrainians*, 330, 438.

20. "Dalshi zhertvy na ukrainsku bursu im. P. Mohyly," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 4 October 1916. Budka made his opposition to the *bursa* (residence) camp public as early as June 1916 (Semen V. Savchuk and Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi hreko-pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi* [Winnipeg: Ecclesia, 1985], 2: 768). This happened before the Institute became the catalyst in the founding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. For more information on the role of the dispute over the Mohyla Institute in the birth of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in 1918, see Oleh W. Gerus, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada: The Formative Period," *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 57, nos. 1–2 (2001): 65–90.

21. Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 198–9.

22. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 31 August 1910. Cited from Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 199.

now two priests, that is, Fathers Shumsky and Cherepaniak, are working with our teachers in the service of our community.... Honour and glory to the Reverend Fathers who are working hard and have heard our appeal. We are not to be divided, but rather we must stand as one—for our people, for our faith, for our freedom!"[23] Shumsky's and Cherepaniak's efforts to work with the community were ostensibly beyond reproach. However, given the dominant attitude of episcopal and clerical opposition to the Mohyla project, they were definitely in the minority.[24]

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was in a difficult predicament in Canada. It lacked the clergy and funds to serve a flock scattered over a vast territory.[25] Hence, Bishop Budka was in dire need of support from beyond his own Ukrainian-born clergy and depended, albeit reluctantly, on the aid of the French Roman Catholic Archbishop Langevin and his missionaries. He also needed, especially in Saskatchewan, the support of the aforementioned Fr. Delaere and the Belgian Redemptorists.[26]

Although Budka became concerned with Shumsky's association with certain people, the correspondence between them was generally warm: in a letter of 4 April 1918 the bishop referred to Shumsky as his secretary[27] and apologized for inflicting additional work on him because of illness. In notes of a clergy meeting that was probably held in early December 1918[28] Shumsky remarked that the Saskatoon *bursa*[29] was

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23. "Nashi sviashchennyky," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 December 1916.

24. They were acting against Budka's declared position, although the final break with him did not occur until 1918.

25. Shumsky's correspondence with Budka is littered with financial concerns on both sides: Shumsky wrote that his 1915 court case depleted his finances (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 27) and Budka cited the necessity of paying taxes and repaying loans to the eparchy.

26. These circumstances are well documented in Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 381–3.

27. Shumsky seems to have functioned as Budka's secretary during the bishop's illness. This would mean that he was in Winnipeg from February 1918, rather than in Saskatchewan, where he returned in late June (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 37; Nykyta Budka fond, nos. 119–33).

28. The time of this meeting is referred to in Shumsky's letter of 25 November 1919 (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 44).

29. With the creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, the Mohyla Institute, perhaps the most serious bone of contention with Bishop Budka that led to the split within Catholic ranks, becomes more closely allied with the Orthodox community. Bishop Budka then created a second student residence, named after Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Both institutions still exist, albeit in new locations.

working well, although he also made it clear that no Catholic cleric was considering becoming part of the new [Orthodox] Church.[30] His relations with Budka seemed to sour in late 1918 or early 1919. Apparently, what led to this change was Shumsky's association with J. Androchowycz[31] of Humboldt. In a series of letters in November 1918, Shumsky explained to Budka that Androchowycz had saved his life when he ill with the Spanish influenza.[32] It seems that in early 1919 in a letter no longer extant Budka expressed concern about Shumsky's association with Androchowycz. In a letter marked "Confidential" and dated 17 May 1919, Shumsky began: "I do not know how to answer your last letter. I will say that Androchowycz has no influence upon me, but some scum arrives from Winnipeg and sees that we are riding in one car, and I get another letter from the Bishop who threatens excommunication, because this is worse than cooperating with the Masons. That's how I understood your last letter."[33] Exasperated, he concluded the letter: "I admit that my work for the diocese becomes cooler with every day, but I shall openly admit that the cause of some of my mistakes of which your Excellency knows do not lie within me." In a subsequent letter (22 May 1919), ostensibly to clarify his previous communication, he expressed continued frustration over his financial situation and the lack of communication

30. At this meeting Bishop Budka requested that every priest become a shareholder in the Canadian Ukrainian Publishing Company. Shumsky had already done so a year before, on 18 March 1917.

31. This could have been a "leading member" of the community supporting the creation of the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. See M. Stechyshyn, *Iuvileina knyha: 25-littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni* (Winnipeg: Mohyla Institute, 1945), 44; and Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 251.

32. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 40–7. In these letters Shumsky talks about running a fever of 105˚F. for three days; how doctors felt that there was no hope; and how, finally, because Androchowycz took him into his home rather than to a hospital "where everyone dies," he was able to recover. The identity of this Androchowycz is unclear; however, in August 1915 (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 27) Shumsky expressed concern about Eugene Andruchowych. This is likely Fr. Omelan Andruchowych, who in 1917 had used the threat of "suspension of sacramental services pending incorporation" (Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 404). It is unlikely that this is the Androchowycz in 1918, since Blazejowskyj notes that Andruchowych was in Manitoba from 1916 until 1922 (Dmytro Blazejowskyj, *Ukrainian Catholic Clergy in Diaspora (1751–1988): Annotated List of Priests Who Served outside of Ukraine* (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1988), 17), and nowhere in the correspondence of 1918 or 1919 is there any suggestion that Androchowycz is a priest.

33. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 49.

among priests. Admitting that he had no other options (returning to Ukraine, for example), he accepted Budka's suggestion of a transfer from Alvena, Saskatchewan.[34]

Another cause of the souring relations could have been Shumsky's protracted struggle with parishes in the Vonda-Alvena area over incorporation. On 25 November 1918 he informed the bishop that the parishes of Smuts and Bondary had finally agreed to be registered under the Episcopal Corporation.[35] In the same letter he expressed concern over the high number of Ukrainians dying in the influenza epidemic. Four days later he informed the bishop that his trip to Winnipeg had been delayed because he had to attend the parish meeting in Vonda to ensure registration.[36] Finally, on 28 December he wrote Budka that the Vonda meeting went very well and the church property would be appropriately registered. Although such successes should have strengthened Shumsky's relationship with his bishop, this was not the case. His history of supporting causes and persons who were regarded as nationalist, without including the cause of the Greek Orthodox Church around which many of them coalesced, suggests that he found himself in a rather precarious situation. His letters of May 1919 expressed much frustration and uncertainty about his pastoral work.[37] He did not seem to consider joining the newly established Orthodox Church, but he clearly was asking himself some fundamental questions about his priesthood. He even considered and rejected returning to Ukraine.[38] In the end Shumsky appealed to Budka's compassion: "I ask that you not leave me in uncertainty." On 1 October Budka assigned Shumsky to Hamilton, where he stayed until August 1920, at which time he moved to Fort William. In his first letter to Budka from Fort William he asserted, "the mistakes that I committed in the past … have now departed from my head."[39] Shumsky stabilized his life and found new vigour for pastoral work.

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34. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 51–4.

35. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 44.

36. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 48.

37. "My Bishop even when punishing me, does not wish me ill" (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 51.

38. "To become a burden on my family, I have taken enough from my family, it is time to return it" (UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 53).

39. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 62.

Marriage

The most significant event in Shumsky's life during his stay in Hamilton was also the most controversial one. On 25 May 1920 Fr. Andrew Sarmatiuk presided at Fr. Shumsky's marriage with Maria Regina Mroczynska, while the latter presided at the former's marriage. In this period a number of priests— Frs. Joseph Fylyma, Ievhen Turula, and Nicholas Bartman—contracted marriage. Although these priests should have been immediately excommunicated by their bishop, this did not happen until fifteen years later.[40]

When they were eventually suspended and, according to Vatican documents, excommunicated, they defended themselves publicly by claiming that the Ukrainian church had a historic right to a married clergy and that married priests were quite common in the United States. In a newspaper interview in 1935 Shumsky (misspelled Schonskey) insisted: "The fact that I am married cannot be the sole reason that my jurisdiction has been taken from me.… In the Ukraine today, 90 per cent of the priests are married men and in the United States at least 70 per cent of our priests are married."[41] These views were echoed in, rather self-serving and even disingenuous comments made by Fr. Sarmatiuk's wife:

It [the suspensions] never happened in Canada before and in the United States the priests are married. It is a recognized practice and I can't understand why they would want to break up a home after all these years. They knew we were married, why didn't they do this before, when he was young and could learn to do something else?… We had good Catholic friends. The late Archbishop McNeil was a close friend and he never said a word about our being married. A question was asked in St. Cecilia's Church, Toronto, about us and it was said that we had different customs than those of the Roman Catholic Church.[42]

The fact that the punished priests had violated the canonical norms of the Eastern Church, which prohibit marriage after ordination, was not mentioned.

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40. Only Fr. Turula, who had a wife in Ukraine and was married by a Presbyterian minister, was punished immediately (Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 488). For Bartman, see Blazejowskyj, *Ukrainian Catholic Clergy*, 24.

41. *Brantford Expositor*, 2 February 1935.

42. "Choose Between Wife and Church, is Order Given Oshawa Priest," *Toronto Star*, 31 January 1935.

For the discussants the disciplinary action of the church authorities went to the very heart of their identity as Ukrainian Catholics. Shumsky protested vehemently that he was victimized because of his nationalist and anti-Polish stance.[43] This interpretation was supported by many of the laity who disregarded the issue of ecclesial canons and focused on the supposed attack upon church traditions.[44] In Oshawa, where Fr. Sarmatiuk was pastor at the time of his excommunication, the head of the parish council, Michael Starr (later a prominent Ontario politician), asserted that Ukrainians had never been satisfied with their relationship with Rome and now most of his co-parishioners were more than willing to withdraw from the "power of the pope."[45] A public meeting on 17 February 1935 at Bienfait, Saskatchewan, also saw the events in Ontario as a challenge to the identity of the Ukrainian church and community: "We regard this action of His Excellency the Bishop Ladyka as a further step in the denigration of our rite of the Greek Catholic Church and a further step in the direction of Latinization and Polonization.... Should His Excellency Bishop Ladyka not respond to our requests [the normalization of Sarmatiuk's and Shumsky's status], we shall doubt our Church leaders' commitment to the Ukrainian character of our ancient traditions, and then we shall have to consider the appropriate consequences."[46] The marriage issue became a focus for those who were at odds with the church leadership over a number of questions. Shumsky's and Sarmatiuk's cases came to symbolize the struggle within the church to make it more "Ukrainian" in character.

The issue was further complicated by Bishop Budka's and Ladyka's inaction over the period 1920–35. Both bishops undoubtedly knew about the marriages and the sanctions prescribed by canon law—automatic suspension and excommunication,[47] but neither bishop was willing to

43. "Priest Blames Polish Enmity for Dismissal," *Brantford Expositor*, 2 February 1935.

44. Although the marriages of Shumsky, Sarmatiuk, and the others clearly contravened ecclesial canons, it is unclear whether this was perceived as problematic for the laity. In fact the evidence is unclear as to how well informed the laity was of the legal aspects of the cases. Rather, they seemed to have focused on what concerned them most: the quality and pastoral record of their priests.

45. "Ukrainians are Weeding Out Those Who Would Obey Rome," *Toronto Star*, 13 February 1935.

46. UCA, RS fond, no. 219.

47. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 153, 160.

take these steps. Both Budka and Ladyka were "negotiating" their identity as Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Canada: they had to balance their duty to enforce the canonical norms of the church with the duty to provide their flock with pastoral care. They chose to ignore a serious canonical transgression in favour of pastoral peace. To some degree both accepted the situation and engaged in subterfuge to perpetuate it.[48]

In his letter of 27 January 1935 to Archbishop Cassulo, the apostolic delegate for Canada, Bishop Ladyka wrote that Bishop Budka knew of these marriages.[49] In correspondence with Fr. Shumsky, Bishop Budka regularly offered best wishes to "you and yours," referring to Shumsky's family. In fact the correspondence between Shumsky and Budka from 1924 until Budka's removal from Canada in 1928 had a renewed friendliness. In this period Budka was particularly impressed with Shumsky's activism not only in re-invigorating parish life but also in opposing Communism, especially in Sudbury. On 26 February 1925 Budka wrote to Shumsky: "You know most in these matters and I authorize you to act as you see fit." Shumsky's marriage did not harm his relationship with Bishop Budka. Bishop Ladyka's ordination to the episcopate in 1929 did however produce a change in atmosphere.

Ladyka Arrives on the Scene

Vasyl Ladyka replaced Budka in order to deal with what many saw as his predecessor's greatest failing—the financial administration of the eparchy.[50] On 30 October 1929 Bishop Ladyka circulated a letter to his clergy clarifying their financial responsibilities to the eparchy and imposed a deadline of three months on settling these matters. He insisted on numerous occasions that Shumsky pay his chancellery tax and that the parish pay its cathedraticum, but did not address the issue of marriage. In May 1933, replying to Fr. L. J. Blair's, the head of the Catholic Church Extension Society, question as to Shumsky's status, he stated: "Rev. N. Shumsky is not a married man. He is one of our priests and is in charge

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48. I am grateful to Orest Martynowych for bringing to my attention Bishop Ladyka's letter of 23 January 1935 to Archbishop Cassulo (Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 163–4), in which Ladyka outlines his attempts to correct Sarmatiuk's and Shumsky's behaviour and status. The problem remains that, according to canon law, marriage after ordination entails *automatic* excommunication. Sarmatiuk's and Shumsky's sin was compounded by the fact that they officiated at each other's marriages.

49. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 163.

50. Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 488.

of the parish at Windsor."[51] But Ladyka knew of Shumsky's marriage: in his letter to Shumsky on 30 June 1933 he reminded Shumsky that he had been appointed to Windsor in 1931 because of his drinking problem and his marriage.[52] Ladyka's reply to Blair was somewhat disingenuous. On 18 May 1933 the secretary of the Oriental Congregation, Cardinal Sincero, inquired of Ladyka concerning Shumsky's canonical status.[53] Upon receiving this letter Ladyka must have realized that the issue could no longer be avoided. In a "highly confidential" letter, dated 29 August 1933, Ladyka informed Shumsky that his marriage had been brought to the attention of Rome and that Ladyka needed the marriage documents in order to forward them to Rome.[54] Meanwhile, in response to Ladyka's June letter, Shumsky denied that his marriage was really concubinage and explained that the accusation of drunkenness had been simply a tactic used by the Sichovyky to discredit him.[55] Ladyka's reluctance to discipline his priest was evident in another "personal-confidential" letter of 15 January 1934 in which he regretted the problems created by various intrigues and asked whether Shumsky knew who was behind the attack on him. He also suggested that if Shumsky continued to be patient and tactful his situation would "slowly improve" and ultimately his "standing would also improve." On 14 March 1934 the Roman Catholic bishop of Sault Ste. Marie, D. J. Scollard, expressed his concerns about Shumsky's status and the woman and children living in the rectory in Sudbury with him.[56] Again Ladyka feigned ignorance: "Fr. N. Shumsky is not known to me as a married priest."[57]

Eventually, Ladyka reluctantly carried out the Vatican decrees. On 16 January 1935 he sent Shumsky an official letter of sanction suspending him and informing him of his excommunication by the Vatican.[58] In a handwritten note Ladyka added "I do this with sincere discomfort and as an exercise of holy obedience" and assured Shumsky that he would

51. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 100.
52. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 102.
53. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 101.
54. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 107.
55. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 103–4.
56. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 126.
57. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 127.
58. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 160.

attempt to do all in his power to rectify the situation.[59] He expressed his admiration for Shumsky in a letter to him of 25 October 1948 in which he called Shumsky an "elder" from whom the younger priests could learn much and admitted that he had been "in awe of ... [his] generosity" when Shumsky was in Sudbury, and "for some reason I have always felt in my heart towards you as once I did towards my own father."[60] Ladyka's treatment of the issue of Shumsky's marriage can be explained partly by his personal regard for Shumsky and partly by practical considerations, which he pointed out to the secretary of the Eastern Congregation: "The situation is very difficult, as I have no priests to replace those who are not worthy to exercise the priestly functions."[61] Thus a clearly excommunicable offense was deliberately ignored and tolerated for over a decade in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.[62]

Shumsky and the Nationalists

The 1920s and 1930s were a period of major reconfiguration within the Ukrainian community in Canada. There were two main developments: the rise of integral Ukrainian nationalism with the formation of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) and the growth of the Ukrainian-Canadian socialist movement, which gave birth to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA).[63] The first entailed the emergence of an autonomous centre of authority, a "new voice" within the Catholic community. From 1928 this voice often challenged the voice of clerical authority. In Windsor the competition between the Striltsi and Sichovyky demanded much effort from Fr. Shumsky to maintain the community's unity. Unlike the editor of *Ukrainski visti*, who represented the church's position in asserting that the Striltsi were all atheists and opposed to the

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59. This note is contained in Shumsky's file not in the official church archives.

60. Ladyka's letter to Shumsky, 25 October 1948, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

61. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 105.

62. Interestingly, the supposedly nationalist Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was not at all condemnatory of the Vatican's actions. In fact the chair of the Consistory condemned Shumsky's and Sarmatiuk's actions and was not happy to accept them into his church, although in the end Sarmatiuk did become a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church (Vasyl Swystun, *Kryza v Ukrainskii pravoslavnii [avtokefalnii] tserkvi* [Winnipeg: n.p., 1947], 44–45, 55).

63. The beginnings of this process are discussed by Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 486–510.

Ukrainian Catholic Church,[64] Shumsky believed that both organizations had "nice people and also scum"[65] and tried to mediate between them. In 1934 he purchased shares in the nationalist newspaper *Novyi shliakh* and offered to raise money for it.[66] An article in that paper, which Ladyka called "scandalous," mentioned Shumsky's nationalist attitude in positive terms[67] and was signed by his parish council. Ladyka advised Shumsky to support a different newspaper: "Good articles should be sent to our newspaper *Ukrainski visti*."[68] After Shumsky's expulsion from the Catholic Church, his former parishioners in Windsor who had once opposed him turned to him for assistance in raising money for building the Canadian-Ukrainian National Home.[69]

From his service in Sudbury (1924–26) to the 1940s Shumsky "never ceased to carry on the fight against Communism."[70] His anti-Communist line was unwavering and completely within the standard teaching of the Catholic Church at the time. According to his views, members of the various organizations in the nationalist camp could belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church as long as they recognized its role in unifying the community; but not members of the ULFTA and the Communist camp.

The Ukrainian community's expression of support for Shumsky after his excommunication is not surprising. His parishioners in Brant-

64. *Ukrainski visti*, 1 April 1932.

65. Shumsky's letter to Ladyka, 17 March 1932, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

66. *Novyi shliakh*, 10 February 1934.

67. The nationalist policies supported by the UNF and practiced in Ukraine by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) were antithetical to the teachings of the Christian church. The assassinations carried out by the OUN were condemned by Metropolitan Sheptytsky (*Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky: Zhyttia i diialnist. Dokumenty i materialy, 1899–1944. Tserkva i suspilne pytannia* [Lviv: Misioner, 1998], vol. 2, bk. 1, 480–1 and 259–68). However, many members of clerical circles supported the nationalist movement, if not all its tactics. One should remember that in those years the Roman Catholic Church in Europe regarded Communism as a greater threat to Christianity than fascism (Guenter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* [New York and Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1964]).

68. Ladyka's letter to Shumsky, 8 March 1934, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

69. Gulewich's letter to Shumsky, 15 June 1936, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

70. Collins's letter to Shumsky, 2 August 1948, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

ford insisted on bringing him from his Grimsby farm back to the parish for Sunday service,[71] while the UNF circulated a petition of support.[72] In Brantford the conflict was so intense that the ownership of church property after Shumsky's departure had to be decided in court.[73] During the initial period of uncertainty and conflict *The Globe and Mail* described Shumsky as "the deposed but congregationally reinstated priest."[74]

Shumsky's career was remarkable in the way in which he was able to function both as a spiritual and a community leader. Although Ladyka was not pleased by Shumsky's approach to community conflict in Windsor, it was this ability to deal with conflicting positions and groups and build a sense of community and common purpose that was his most appealing quality. In 1931 a member of the Leamington parish in Ontario wrote about him: "He is everything for us, we are very pleased that Your Excellency has appointed him to Windsor, because then he also serves us. Fr. Shumsky has a gift and ability for organizing. He is always generous in his pastoral work. The fruits of his labour in Windsor are very evident."[75] These sentiments were echoed by the leaders of the Brantford parish in 1935: "since the inception of this parish we have never had anyone who could work so well and bring such unity to the parish as has Fr. Shumsky. The church is full and there are even Reds who are coming back!"[76] Shumsky's excommunication often led to division in his former parishes. The Brantford committee continued: "the parishioners are protesting against the suspension of Fr. Shumsky, and there will be no good or peace in our parish until we get our pastor back." Even in Fort William, the source of some of the strongest complaints against Shumsky, "because of the dispute and troubles which arose as a result of the suspension of Fr. Shumsky, the autocephalists were able to claim the

71. *London Free Press*, 4 March 1935.

72. *Brantford Expositor*, 2 February 1935.

73. *Telegram*, 15 March 1935.

74. *The Globe and Mail*, 4 March 1935. It is hard to determine whether this support was representative of the general church membership and how long the church was criticized on this issue. Family photographs from this period showing Fr. Shumsky hosting Ukrainian Catholic priests and even Bishop Ladyka on his farm suggest that his former colleagues did not shun him during the public controversy.

75. Letter signed "Robitnyk," in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

76. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 169.

Zoria community hall and turn it into a church."[77] Shumsky owed his popularity largely to the fact that he tried to deal with the fundamental issues of his community: how to be a Ukrainian Catholic in the Canadian setting. His answers could not satisfy everybody: for some he was too nationalistic, for others he was too subservient to the bishop. However, his negotiation of identity was very public and thus served to validate the struggles and dilemmas of his community.

Even after his excommunication Shumsky continued to confound expectations. Labeled a nationalist, he did not to join the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church but the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch.[78] However, this was only a temporary resolution: in 1938 he asked Ladyka how he might receive the Catholic sacraments again.[79] In 1946 through Ladyka he officially requested to be reconciled with the Catholic Church, to have his marriage validated, his children legitimized, and to be permitted to celebrate the Eucharist in private twice a year.[80] The requests were granted by decision of the Holy Office on 12 February 1947,[81] and Shumsky was officially absolved on 12 April 1947.[82] One would have expected Shumsky to remain silent and in retirement from then on. That was not the case. In July 1948 he accepted appointment as the chair of the organizing committee of the Basilian Fathers College in Toronto.[83] Reaching out to his friends and former associates in Canadian political life, he won Ontario Premier George Drew's endorsement of this project: "you are at liberty to indicate my approval of your splendid efforts to combat the menace of Communism in this country."[84] Shumsky persisted in his efforts to build the Ukrainian community in Canada and unite it around his beloved church. When Shumsky died on 7 May 1962 he died a Ukrainian Catholic priest.

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77. *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi* (Yorkton: Redeemer's Voice, 1941), 125.

78. Letter from Archbishop Athenagoras to Shumsky, 17 April 1935, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

79. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 189.

80. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, nos. 194–5.

81. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 198.

82. UCA, Nicholas Shumsky fond, no. 202.

83. Ladyka's letter to Shumsky, 27 July 1948, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

84. Drew's letter to Shumsky, 9 October 1948, in W. Shumsky's family file, copy in my possession.

Conclusion

Shumsky's biography exemplifies the Ukrainian community's struggle for identity in Canada and the important role that religion played in it. The community had to deal with many issues and conflicts in finding its place in Canada, and Shumsky was actively involved in some of them. His arrest and incarceration in 1915 quickly taught him that his own fate was inseparable from the fate of his community in the new land. For him there was clearly no difference between his role as priest and community leader, even if his superiors did not agree.

In his letter of appointment, dated 26 August 1912, Bishop Budka was instructed never to accept any married priests into Canada and to establish immediately a seminary only for celibate candidates to the priesthood.[85] On 9 April 1913 this issue was again raised in a letter from Cardinal Gotti reminding Budka that married priests could not serve in Canada.[86] Through the years the Vatican attempted to impose priestly celibacy on Ukrainian Catholics. It was not until 7 September 1975 that a married man was ordained a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada without a special dispensation. Although Shumsky's marriage cannot be justified on any canonical grounds, the wide support he received on his question demonstrates that the Ukrainian Catholic Church and community resisted Rome's encroachments. After some setbacks on the eve of the Second World War there has been a resurgence of married clergy in the Ukrainian church.

In the interwar period the Ukrainian community in Canada received an influx of new immigrants and had to adjust to new political movements. The first immigrants came from a political environment in which Ukrainian community leaders tended to be anti-clerical if not atheist.[87] Hence, hostility between the leadership of secular organizations and Ukrainian priests in Canada is understandable. The second wave of immigrants, however, came from a different environment, one in which Metropolitan Sheptytsky had allied himself with the national movement.[88] After the failed Ukrainian Revolution the nationalist camp was divided into a number of groups, which were at times antagonistic to

85. UCA, Nykyta Budka fond, nos. 833–5.

86. UCA, Nykyta Budka fond, no. 873.

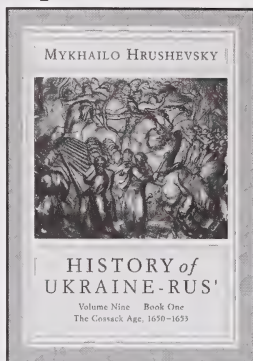87. Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, 13f.

88. Ibid., 21.

other. Shumsky's attempts to maintain unity in his community and to follow his own course independently of the church authorities paved the way for pluralism and tolerance in the Ukrainian community. As a spokesperson for nationalist sentiment who believed in the leading role for the church in the community Shumsky occupied a unique position among the clergy. Clearly, his religious faith involved his national identity and his identity expressed his Christian faith.

Although Shumsky dissented from the church's policy of supporting conservative political elements in the Ukrainian community and of using *Ukrainski visti* as the one spokesman for the church, he remained faithful to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He did not break with it after being excommunicated. Valuing tradition and established canons over national sentiment, he did not join the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and soon sought reconciliation with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Shumsky's language suggests that he drew a clear distinction between his church and the Roman Catholic Church, and it is probable that he never felt rejected by his church.

The life of Nicholas Shumsky, which so far has not received the attention it deserves from historians, helps us to reconstruct the role of religion in the development of the Ukrainian-Canadian community in the first half of the twentieth century. It demonstrates that "religious beliefs and practices do not exist in general or as free-floating realities unencumbered by society and culture, [but] … they emerge out of, are shaped by and in turn influence particular strands of historical existence and concrete social contexts."[89] Shumsky's example reminds us that religion is not an otherworldly experience, but rather the concrete living out of human identity. Religion is an utterly social, political, and cultural human experience.

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89. Ibid., 258.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Surveillance of the Ukrainian Community in Canada

Myron Momryk

One of the main themes in the history of an ethnocultural group in Canada is the relationship between the community and the Canadian federal government. The extent and nature of the contacts have a significant influence on the history and development of the ethnocultural community. Archival sources for the study of this history are found at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in the records of the various federal government departments—Immigration, External (Foreign) Affairs, Citizenship, National Defence, Justice, and many others. The purpose of this paper is to focus on the leading federal law-enforcement agency, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the evolution of its contacts with the Ukrainian community in Canada from the First World War until the 1960s.

The RCMP as a federal law-enforcement agency was the product of the merging of the Dominion Police and the Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP) on 1 February 1920. The Dominion Police was established in 1868 to guard the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa and over the years assumed other federal police duties. The primary role of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP), founded in 1873, was the policing of the North-West Territories, recently acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company. In the 1890s, in addition to its regular police duties, the NWMP assisted immigrants to locate their homesteads, provided them with seed grain, issued welfare, fought prairie fires, and reported on the settlement of new immigrants on the Prairies. It monitored settlement

activities, visited homesteads, and generally documented the success or failures of individual Ukrainian settlers and communities.[1]

By 1900 there were sufficient contacts between the NWMP and the Ukrainian settlers that the NWMP began to hire its first "Galician" interpreters. When the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created in 1905, the RNWMP acted as the provincial police. As expected, the records of the law-enforcement agency concerning the Ukrainian immigrants in the years before the Second World War dealt with various criminal activities: theft, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and murder.[2]

The RNWMP also reported on the growing labour problems in western Canada. In its reports, the RNWMP tended to stress the habit of foreign workers to carry personal weapons and to resort to violence during disputes and confrontations. During the 1906 coal strike in Lethbridge, Alberta, the district superintendent of the RNWMP insisted on the maximum deployment of police in order to control the Slavic and Italian workers. The RNWMP also deplored its inability to obtain support from the ethnocultural communities in apprehending labour agitators and "criminals" largely because they tended to view the police as the enemy.[3]

The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 fundamentally changed the position of Ukrainians in Canada. It brought to an end the first period of RNWMP-Ukrainian community contacts and introduced a new chapter in Ukrainian-Canadian history. As recent immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, many of the Ukrainians, or as they were then known, Ruthenians, Galicians, and Bukovynians, were not yet

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1. The Records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RG18) at LAC contain reports on the destitution in the Galician Colony at Beaver Hills (1897), the relief to destitute Galicians in Fort Saskatchewan District (1897–1898), and the condition of Galician settlers in Prince Albert District (1898).

2. The specific nature of criminal activities among the Ukrainian male pioneers created stereotypes which led to discrimination by law enforcement officials. See Gregory Robinson, "Rougher than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915–29," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1991). See also Frances Swyripa, "Negotiating Sex and Gender in the Ukrainian Bloc Settlement: East Central Alberta between the Wars," *Prairie Forum*, Fall 1995, 149–74.

3. Cited in Donald H. Avery," Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada, 1918–20: Anglo-Canadians and the Alien Worker," in *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War*, ed. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1983), 88.

naturalized and were still technically subjects of the Austrian Emperor and, therefore, "enemy aliens." Almost immediately the question of loyalty to Canada and the British Empire became a universal standard by which all Ukrainians were judged.[4]

A series of orders-in-council and proclamations were issued by the federal government which controlled and shaped the activities of Ukrainians as individuals and as a community for the next five years.[5] An emergency session of Parliament was held on 18 August 1914 and a week later the War Measures Act was passed. The Act gave the federal government emergency powers that enabled the federal Cabinet to issue proclamations on a whole series of political and administrative matters without reference to Parliament or the existing laws.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the duties of the Dominion Police were expanded to co-ordinating police and security agencies in the enforcement of the provisions of the War Measures Act. The RNWMP received authority to increase the strength of the force by 500 men and added new security and intelligence duties to its regular police activities.[6]

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4. The question of the loyalty of Ukrainian Canadians during the First World War is discussed in Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien," in *Loyalties in Conflict*, 47–68. The general question of loyalty and the RCMP is discussed in Larry Hannant, *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

5. The following is a list of some of the orders-in-council at LAC:

O-in-C 2086: German officers and reservists in Canada if remain neutral, not to be disturbed, will not be allowed to return to Germany, will be arrested (7 August 1914);

O-in-C 2128: War with Austria-Hungary. Immigrants who live quietly not to be disturbed. Officers and reservists who attempt to return to be arrested (13 August 1914);

O-in-C 2150: War with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Authority to police and militia to arrest and intern all German and Austrian subjects suspected of joining armed forces of the enemy or intending to give aid, to release under certain conditions those who sign engagement not to serve (15 August 1914);

O-in-C 2283: Arms ammunition not to be in the possession of any persons of Austro-Hungarian or German nationality (3 September 1914);

O-in-C 2721/2920: Aliens of Enemy nationality in Canada; Regulations respecting the Registration and internment as prisoners of war where advisable (28 October 1914);

O-in-C 2758: Registration of Enemy Aliens. Cities and Towns designated for (31 October 1914).

6. The history of the first attempts at RCMP surveillance is described in Gregory S. Kealey, "The Early Years of State Surveillance of Labour and the Left in Canada: The Institutional Framework of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security and Intelligence Apparatus, 1918–26," *Intelligence and National Security* 8, no. 3 (July 1993): 129–48.

The RNWMP was virtually the sole agency responsible for security and intelligence in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

In 1914 approximately eighty percent of the force was British-born and reflected the views and attitudes of most Anglo-Canadians. Hardly any member had experience operating undercover.[7] The RNWMP employed about twenty-five undercover agents of European origin. Their salaries were paid by the Dominion Police. However, the quality of the reports from these agents was very low. For example, an agent reported in October 1914 that the Ukrainian Ruthenian League was raising funds for subversive purposes. Upon further investigation it was discovered that the agent was a bartender and the information was unreliable.[8] The problems with the agents stemmed from the fact that most were unsuitable: their backgrounds had not been checked, and they could not distinguish between criminal and political/ideological activities. As a result, the more obviously unsuitable agents were discharged.[9]

Files were compiled on all the "enemy aliens" who were arrested and interned. The RNWMP prepared a questionnaire and the apprehended suspects were asked a long series of questions relating to their previous military service and contacts with Austria-Hungary. If they had previous military service or recent contacts, they were interned. In many cases the suspects were released and required to report regularly at their nearest police agency. If they failed to report, notices were sent out to locate and intern them.[10]

The first internment camps and stations were established in August and September 1914. During the years 1914–1918 approximately 80,000 enemy aliens were required to register and 8,579 were actually interned. Ukrainians formed the majority of the nearly 6,000 men who were interned as Austro-Hungarian "enemy aliens."

By 1918 the federal government became concerned over the growing radicalism of the labour unions in western Canada. During the first years of the war, strikes and any political problems of a radical nature were attributed to the influence of German and Austrian "enemy agents and

7. Carl Betke and S. W. Horrall, *Canada's Security Service: An Historical Outline 1864–1966* (Ottawa: RCMP Historical Section, 1978), 1: 232–4.

8. Ibid., 239–40.

9. Ibid., 307–8.

10. The files are located in LAC, RG18 Series B Commissioners Office, volumes 1768–1787.

propaganda." However, by 1918 the revolutionary events in Russia and eastern Europe fuelled the widespread fear that revolution might spread to Canada with its large east European population. The RNWNP and the Dominion Police turned their attention to the investigation of radical elements in the union movement.

Already in May 1918 Prime Minister Robert Borden requested an old political associate, C. H. Cahan, who was a lawyer in Montreal, to undertake a study for the federal government of the radical movement and the action required to reduce the threat. Cahan prepared the report without any field investigation and submitted it to the Minister of Justice two months later. He reported that radicalism and unrest were inspired not by German espionage, but by Bolshevik propaganda.[11] To check this threat, he recommended that: (1) all Bolshevik propaganda be suppressed, (2) Russian, Finnish, and Ukrainian nationals be treated as if they were enemy aliens under the provisions of the War Measures Act, (3) east European political organizations be suppressed, and (4) a Directorate of Public Safety be established to coordinate the operations of all federal security forces.

Although the recommendations were not supported by the investigations of the Dominion Police and the RNWMP, they formed the basis for the federal government's security policy in the following months. In September 1918 Borden instructed the Minister of Justice to take "immediate and vigorous action" to implement Cahan's report. The federal government banned the printing of any publications in Ukrainian and several other "enemy" languages.[12] On 27 September 1918, Privy Council Order 2384 was passed, banning fourteen organizations, including the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, outlawing all public meetings in Ukrainian, and closing down the newspaper *Rabochyi narod.*

In 1919 Cahan was appointed director of the Public Safety Branch of the Department of Justice for a four-month period. During this time the Branch compiled a list of the main agitators in Canada.[13] Many of the

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11. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service,* 1: 296.

12. The full text of this "Order in Council Respecting Enemy Publications, 25 September 1918" is included in *Loyalties in Conflict,* appendix 2, pp. 190–2.

13. Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919–1929* (St. John's, Nfld.: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994), 10. The documents in this collection were obtained under the Access to Information Act from the National Archives of Canada and are sorted under the following categories:

Ukrainians included in the list "Chief Agitators in Canada" had been arrested earlier and found guilty in October–December 1918 of possessing "objectionable literature," belonging to unlawful associations, and attending illegal meetings.[14]

RNWMP Commissioner A. B. Perry insisted that all enquiries on security matters should be directed to the RNWMP and issued a memorandum on 6 January 1919 outlining the RNWMP security policy. The targets of security investigations were individuals and organizations that espoused the "pernicious doctrine of Bolshevism."[15] All those suspected of revolutionary activities were to be kept under surveillance and their statements were to be carefully recorded. The police were to be informed of all radical publications in their area. To create an efficient detective service men would be carefully selected and would operate without drawing suspicion on themselves. The primary task was to penetrate all labour organizations and identify the groups and leaders who favoured revolutionary action. A system of security records was created and files were kept on all radical organizations and individuals. The Commissioner stated," It must be borne in mind that the only information which is of any value in connection with Bolshevism is the valuable and first-hand information of what is going to happen before it occurs in sufficient time to permit arrangements being made to offset any intended disturbances."[16] This policy, initiated during a time of perceived crisis in Canada, was continued for many more decades.

After the First World War, "enemy alien" was replaced by "radical alien" as the perceived threat to national security. RNWMP reports from this period provide a good example of the problems the security officials had in distinguishing between "rumour, and fact, hyperbole and sedition."[17] This situation continued into the next period of Ukrainian-Canadian history.

Intelligence Bulletins, Chief Agitators in Canada, Personal Files Register 1919–1929, Subject Files Register 1919–1929, Register of Subversive Publications 1919–1929, and Register of Bolshevists and Agitator Investigations 1920.

14. Ibid., 362–82.

15. In December 1918 the strength of the RNWMP increased to 1,200 men. In addition, five officers and 169 men from the force formed a cavalry squadron which served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Siberia against the Bolsheviks. The RCMP "war" against the Bolsheviks continued in Canada for many more decades.

16. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service,* 1: 283.

17. Avery, "Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada, 1918–20," 92.

During the years 1917–20 many Ukrainian Canadians supported Ukraine's independence. In 1922, after several years of civil strife and foreign invasions, Ukraine was incorporated into the USSR in 1922 as the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. Substantial segments of the Ukrainian population remained under the administration of neighbouring countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The 1920s and 1930s were marked by demonstrations and petitions to the Canadian federal government from Ukrainian Canadians about the treatment of Ukrainians under Polish administration in Galicia. From the perspective of the federal law-enforcement authorities, these protests had the potential to become violent.

In a January 1920 report on "Ukrainian Propaganda" in Edmonton, an RNWMP informant of "central European nationality" stated that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Association passed a resolution on 11 January protesting against the assignment of Galicia to Poland. He reported that "one speaker advocated raising troops in Canada to send to the Ukraine to fight Poland. The general trend of the meeting was described as adverse to the Canadianization of Ukrainian immigrants."[18] Community meetings and activities in support of Ukrainian independence were interpreted erroneously in police reports as "Ukrainian opposition to Canadianization."[19]

Activities among Ukrainians were described in almost every RCMP intelligence bulletin under titles such as "The Foreign Element," "The Foreign Communities," "Foreign-Born Revolutionists at St. Catharines," and "A Foreign Would-be Revolutionist." For example, the report of 23 September 1920 included a reference to a "Mass Meeting of Ukrainians at Red Water, Alberta" where about 600 people were present. The meeting was held to discuss the conflicts in Ukraine with Poland and Russia. The report concluded that "the speakers did not refer to the assimilation with the Canadian race or the fostering of Canadian ideas in the educating of their children, advocating only Ukrainian nationalism."[20]

The question of support for or opposition to Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union became the determining factor in the ideological orientation

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18. Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years,* 30.

19. Ibid., 195.

20. Ibid., 154–5.

of Ukrainian individuals, organizations, and institutions in Canada. This issue became the central theme in Ukrainian politics, literature, and history and has divided the organized Ukrainian-Canadian population into the nationalist-patriotic and communist communities.[21]

In the 1920s, as part of the all-Union indigenization initiative to broaden its base of support, the new Soviet government introduced Ukrainization programs in Ukraine. These programs also found support among many Ukrainian Canadians. In addition, the difficult socio-economic conditions among immigrants in Canada encouraged the Ukrainian left-wing movement to establish and extend its organizations across Canada. The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), founded in 1920, and the Workers Benevolent Association (WBA), established in 1922, were among the first national organizations among Ukrainians in Canada. Ukrainian Canadians were among the earliest members of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) founded in 1921.

The RCMP produced weekly intelligence summaries, which included "Notes Regarding Revolutionary Organizations and Agitators in Canada," and these notes contained sections on "The Ukrainians." There was particular interest in the activities of the ULFTA and the WBA at the national and local levels. The building of labour temples or "churches" was monitored carefully and their membership and financial status were reported. Reports on the Ukrainian "revolutionary" press, theatrical performances, and schools were also included.

Files were also compiled on the activities of well-known community leaders, such as Matthew Popowich, John Boychuk, John Sembay, and Wasyl Swystun, and the activities of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Labour Party, and Ukrainian Red Cross. Activities and contacts with Ivan Kulyk, a Ukrainian member of the Russian Soviet Trade Delegation in Montreal, were recorded. Reports on individuals included not only information from the various agents and police officials but also letters of denunciation by anonymous individuals and groups.[22]

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21. For information on how this division affected the Ukrainian press of the period, see Nestor Makuch, "The Influence of the Ukrainian Revolution on Ukrainians in Canada, 1917–22," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 42–61.

22. LAC, RG146, vol. 34 (Request no. 94-A-00015), Part 1: CSIS file on John Stokaluk, 1921–29, 39 pp. A letter of denunciation was signed by "Faithful Citizens of Canada," Lethbridge, Alberta, 9 September 1929.

The new operations of the RCMP in surveillance and intelligence required some administrative changes in Ottawa. The file systems that were established in 1919 were transferred to Ottawa and a Central Registry was developed. Staff were added, and in 1927 a Ms. Mary Babuka joined the staff as a translator and was given the responsibility of processing documents in the Ukrainian language.[23] The special focus of the translation work was the ULFTA.[24] For example, a report was prepared on the ULFTA mandolin orchestra and its performance at Fernie on 29 July 1926. "According to a Polish citizen who attended, the programme ... was of a fairly high order, with nothing of a revolutionary nature.... "O, Canada" was rendered at the beginning of the evening, but the National Anthem was omitted at the end."[25] It was reported that the Ukrainian communists in Edmonton were concerned about the difficulties of their members to obtain naturalization. The report stated that among the Ukrainian communists "the fact that the police from time to time show that they are aware that a given applicant is identified with revolutionary agitation has caused alarmed resentment." At a meeting of the Edmonton branch [of the ULFTA] on 4 August, a measure of organization was set on foot, a member of the party being appointed to help revolutionary aliens who wish to be naturalized by making out papers, etc."[26]

The Great Depression, which began in October 1929, had a devastating effect on the Ukrainian community. New immigrants who arrived in the late 1920s were now competing with native-born Canadians for the few unskilled jobs that were available. Mass unemployment, rural poverty, and general despair drove many to the left-wing organizations and, eventually, the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). In cases of industrial strife, the leadership of the strikers almost inevitably included members of the CPC, and their presence on strike committees was documented by the RCMP. The Estevan miners' strike in 1931, the riot by unemployed workers in Saskatoon in 1933, and the relief-camp workers'

23. Kealey, "The Early Years of State Surveillance of Labour and the Left in Canada," 133. On 2 February 1936 Mary Babuka married Deputy Commissioner T. S. Belcher and moved to Vancouver where Belcher retired (*RCMP Quarterly* 4, no. 1 [July 1936]: 62).

24. Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker (eds.), *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I: 1933–1934* (1993), 11.

25. Kealey and Whitaker (eds.), *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years,* 331.

26. Ibid.

trek to Ottawa in 1935 were attributed to the activities of the CPC. The RCMP estimated that the CPC membership in the 1930s was approximately 7,000 and eighty to ninety percent were of Finnish, Jewish, and Ukrainian origin. The native-born Canadians and those of British origin numbered only a few hundred.[27]

The RCMP records document the growth of new organizations such as the Society for the Aid of the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (commonly rendered by its Ukrainian acronym TODOVYRNAZU) and also dissension within the Communist movement. They contain news of Myroslav Irchan's imprisonment, Ivan Sembay's "suicide" in the Soviet Union, and the growth of Lobayism among the members of the ULFTA. Danilo Lobay's activities and their effect on the ULFTA leadership and organization were reported in some detail. It was also noted that the Ukrainian nationalist newspapers printed the various accusations and disputes within the ULFTA.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the work of the RCMP became more specialized and its staff grew. John Leopold became the main expert on the Communist movement in Canada. Originally from the Austro-Hungarian Empire (more specifically, what is now the Czech Republic) he had infiltrated the CPC, but his identity was discovered in 1928, and he was expelled. Mervyn Black, who was born in Russia of Scottish parents and spoke several languages, was a special constable in the RCMP.[28] A distinct intelligence section with six persons on staff was established in 1936.[29]

On 11 August 1931 the police arrested the leading members of the CPC, including Matthew Popowich, the former editor of *Robochyi narod* and the *de facto* leader of the ULFTA, and John Boychuk, the head of the Ukrainian wing of the CPC. The trial, held in November 1931, was highly publicized. John Leopold appeared in RCMP uniform at the trial and provided evidence against the arrested CPC leadership. The appearance of Leopold confirmed suspicions that the left-wing organizations were penetrated by police agents and informers. The accused were found

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27. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service*, 2: 415–18.

28. Ibid., 388–97.

29. At the local level, in 1929 the Montreal Police hired a Ukrainian Canadian, John Boyczum, and he spent most of his career in the anti-subversion squad, retiring in 1966 with the rank of lieutenant and second-in-command of this "anti-Communist" unit. See his obituary in *The Gazette*, 30 July 1985.

guilty, sentenced to six years in prison, and were all threatened with deportation. John Boychuk, Matthew Popowich, and other CPC leaders were released from Kingston Penitentiary on 3 June 1934. Only one Croatian CPC leader was deported to Europe.

Through informers and other sources, the RCMP obtained a detailed report on the National Convention of Ukrainian Mass Organizations held in March 1935. At this meeting Lobay criticized the leadership of the Ukrainian left-wing movement and was asked to resign. He did so. The report noted that a WBA delegate confirmed that his association was affiliated with numerous other organizations "under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada."[30] RCMP reports on other national and regional conventions were equally detailed. Praise of Stalin and the Soviet Union was duly noted and confirmed the RCMP suspicion that the first loyalties of these organizations were to the Soviet Union, not to Canada.

The ULFTA halls were used for a variety of purposes by numerous protest, ethnocultural, and activist groups during the Depression and the RCMP reports inevitably refer to them as centres of radical political activities. In almost all cases participants in these events were described in the RCMP reports as "foreigners." Reports on the meetings note the attendance, the identity of the speakers, and the language they used, the topic of the speeches, the reaction of the audience, and the amount of funds collected.[31]

The growth of the Ukrainian left-wing movement parallelled the development of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations. During the 1930s the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), which maintained close political ties with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), established branches in numerous Ukrainian communities across Canada. The UNF followed a militant anti-Communist policy and became a political rival of the Hetman movement.

Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933 was followed by growing political instability in central and eastern Europe. There was a real and constant danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union and the

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30. Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: the Depression Years, Part II, 1935* (St. John's, Nfld.: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1995), 206–9.

31. For police attitudes towards "foreigners" at the local level, see Michael Horn, "Keeping Canada 'Canadian': Anti-Communism and Canadianism in Toronto, 1928–29," *Canada* 3, no. 1 (September, 1975): 35–46.

spectre of war raised new possibilities for solving the "Ukrainian problem." The Canadian federal government was concerned with the various political activities among immigrant groups in general and especially in both the Ukrainian nationalist and Communist movements. The government suspected that the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Canada had close ties with similar groups in Europe, including those operating in Nazi Germany. It suspected the Communist groups because it was convinced that they received their instructions directly from Moscow and were determined to eventually overthrow the Canadian government. The federal government's greatest fears were realized when the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed in August 1939. War between the British Empire and both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union became a strong possibility.

The federal government received representations from the Ukrainian anti-Communist community and began to discern the general outlines of the political structure of the community in Canada. A senior public servant in the Department of External Affairs reported on his meeting in June 1939 with Volodymyr Kossar, president of the UNF. During this meeting they discussed "the Ukrainian problem." The public servant wrote about the meeting: "I would assume that like other Canadians, he would be primarily concerned in the interests of Canada, not in the interests of any part of the European Continent.… Ukrainian national aspirations are undoubtedly an important factor and may become a more important factor in the Eastern situation, which has become of special interest to the United Kingdom since the Vistula became one of its boundaries."[32]

The political rivalry between the nationalists and the Communists in Canada was revived in earnest in 1939. In that year a "pamphlet war" began when Watson Kirkconnell wrote *Canada, Europe and Hitler,* in which he attempted to describe the influence of the political situation in Europe on Canada's ethnocultural groups, particularly, the Ukrainians. In this booklet, he referred to the UNF as a "fascist" group. Although the booklet was well received in the Anglophone community, it was condemned in the Ukrainian nationalist community. It implied that the nationalist organizations were somehow not sufficiently loyal to Canada.[33] Articles in Canadian magazines made the same suggestion. In

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32. Ukrainian Movement in Canada, memorandum dated 15 June 1939, LAC, RG 25, series A-12, vol. 2095, file 39/1.

33. In 1940 Mykyta Mandryka published *The Ukrainian Question*, in which he attempted to correct some of the historical and political information presented by

response, supporters of the Ukrainian nationalist community published pamphlets disputing some of the information. This "pamphlet war" influenced the attitude of senior public servants and law-enforcement officials in Ottawa towards the Ukrainian anti-Communist community.

In a letter to Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, dated 25 August 1939, the Commissioner of the RCMP, S. T. Wood, wrote that in case of war, the federal government should outlaw by order-in-council under the War Measures Act the CPC and its auxiliary organizations, as well as Ukrainian nationalist organizations sympathetic towards the Hitler regime.[34]

When Canada officially entered the Second World War on 10 September 1939, loyalty to Canada again became the dominant question in relations with the ethnocultural groups.[35] The leadership of the UNF and other organizations immediately offered to raise a Ukrainian military unit in Canada to fight against Nazi Germany. The federal government, remembering the difficulties with independent military units during the First World War, refused the offer.[36]

The Canadian government did not want to repeat the experience during the First World War when large numbers of Ukrainians were interned as enemy aliens and the RCMP hired a special constable to provide detailed information and analysis of the Ukrainian groups in Canada. Michael Petrowsky, who was known as a journalist in the Ukrainian-Canadian community, used his skills to investigate the

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Kirkconnell. In *Ukrainian Canadians and the War* (1940), Kirkconnell revised his opinion on the UNF. In 1943 Raymond A. Davies wrote *This Is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians against Hitler*, in which he defended the pro-Communist community in Canada and criticized the nationalist groups. In the same year, the National Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Association published Alexander Bogomolets' twenty-seven-page booklet *Soviet Ukraine and Ukraino-German Nationalists in Canada*, which described the UCC as a Ukrainian-German organization traitorous to its homeland and subversive of the United Nations' war effort.

34. LAC, E. Lapointe Papers, MG27 III B10, vol. 50, file 41.

35. For a general discussion on the role of the RCMP during the Second World War, see Reg Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism during World War II," *Labour*, Spring 1986: 135–66.

36. See M. B. Biskupski, "Canada and the Creation of a Polish Army," *The Polish Review* 44, no. 3 (1999): 339–80. During the First World War some of the Haller Army units, composed almost entirely of Polish volunteers from the United States, trained in the Niagara area of Ontario. They were sent to France and in summer 1919 left for Poland to take part in military conflicts, including those in Galicia.

community and prepare reports for the RCMP. He was engaged in Ottawa as a translator of Slavic languages. It should be noted that Petrowsky spent his early years in Oshawa, Ontario, and was an active member of the Ukrainian nationalist-patriotic community.[37]

On 1 October 1939 he completed a forty-one-page report entitled *Ukrainians in Canada,* which covered the history of Ukraine, the revival of the independence movement, and the history of the early Ukrainians in Canada. He described the Communist organizations as essentially a monolithic movement with direct ties to Moscow. The nationalist organizations, on the other hand, were divided into various factions and had complex political allegiances. He emphasized that the UNF was perhaps the largest Ukrainian anti-Communist organization. Petrowsky concluded his report by stating: "Recent developments would indicate that the UNF and its membership is loyal to Canada and Great Britain and that their declaration and offer [to raise a Ukrainian division] is sincere in spite of their former tendencies and misplaced sympathies."[38]

This report had some effect on the federal government's perception of the Ukrainian community. Although the report had a numbered and restricted circulation and was classified as a "secret" document, it was used by influential government officials for several years as a reference on Ukrainian Canadians and helped shape their attitudes and policies towards the community. The Ukrainians were no longer perceived as a uniform monolithic mass but as a complex and segmented group. The federal government realized that it could not treat all Ukrainians in the same manner and acted accordingly when in summer 1940 it interned the leadership of the CPC, banned their newspapers and affiliated organiza-

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37. Michael Petrowsky was born on 15 November 1897 in Rozhubovychi, Ukraine, and immigrated with his family to Canada in 1912. In 1934 he forwarded to the federal government in Ottawa four resolutions passed at a meeting of Ukrainian Canadians in Oshawa, Ontario, protesting against existing conditions in Ukraine (Marco Carynnyk, Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, and Bohdan S. Kordan (eds.), *The Foreign Office and the Famine: British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932–33* [Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1987], 346). See also the entry for Mykhailo Petrivsky in *Biohrafichnyi dovidnyk do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady*, ed. Mykhailo Marunchak (Winnipeg: UVAN v Kanadi, 1986), 507–8. The Michael Petrowsky fond (MG31 D147) is located at LAC. There is also a collection of his papers at the Archives of Ontario.

38. Michael Petrowsky, *Ukrainians in Canada* (Ottawa: RCMP Headquarters, 1 October 1939), 39. A copy of the report was obtained by Reg Whitaker through the Access to Information Act.

tions, and confiscated their property. Forty Ukrainian Communist leaders were interned.[39] Earlier proposals to intern the leadership of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations were ignored.

With the active encouragement of the federal government, the leadership of the Ukrainian anti-Communist organizations negotiated and agreed to establish the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) on 7 November 1940. This occurred after the Ukrainian pro-Communist organizations had been banned and when the Soviet Union was still a potential enemy of the British Empire. However, a suspicion of the Ukrainian nationalists in Canada lingered among the Canadian law-enforcement community.[40] In the RCMP *Intelligence Bulletin*, dated 23 December 1940, an article entitled "Are Ukrainian Nationalists Loyal (to Canada)?" concluded that "at their best, the Ukrainian Nationalists in Canada may be regarded with a big question mark."[41]

The RCMP also noted the anti-war campaign conducted by the CPC and its allied organizations during the period from October 1939 to June 1941. The "secret weapon" was pamphlets. Circulars, including some written in Ukrainian, were distributed through the mails.[42] The RCMP paid particular attention to any information that suggested the use or the threat of violence, weapons, or explosives by any individual or group. Such rumours were quickly investigated and, in many cases, were traced to bar-room conversations.

RCMP surveillance of the CPC and the Ukrainian left-wing organizations at the local level increased during 1940 and 1941. New files on local organizations and their leadership were opened. Although in some cases the RCMP felt that it had sufficient information to prosecute certain

39. The individual internees and their experiences in the internment camps are described in Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause: The Internment of Canadian Anti-Fascists during World War Two* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1985); and William Repka and Kathleen M. Repka, *Dangerous Patriots: Canada's Unknown Prisoners of War* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1982).

40. A study of the perceptions of "good" citizenship among German Canadians is discussed in Barbara Lorenzkowski, "Making "Good" Canadians: Perceptions of Citizenship in Wartime Canada, 1939–1940," (M.A. Diss., University of Ottawa, 1996).

41. LAC, W. L. M. King Papers, MG26 J4, Memoranda and Notes Series, vol. 432. See also Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker (eds.), *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939–1941* (St. John's, Nfld: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1989), 315–19.

42. Kealey and Whitaker (eds.), *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series*, 357.

individuals under existing legislation, it believed that "this action would only tend to send these activities more underground making it more difficult to obtain information." Mail was monitored and lists of names and addresses of those receiving "suspect" newspapers were compiled. The memorandum for 20 January 1940 on the Ukrainian community in Val-d'Or, Quebec, stated that "these fellows are the first instigators and they are fully responsible for the subversive communistic and anti-democratic and therefore anti-Canadian feelings which is quite evident among the foreign born miners."[43] In the RCMP reports some generalizations continued to be used. For example, a memorandum stated that "it is reported further that … a large percentage of the Ukrainians at Val-d'Or, P.Q., are off and on followers of this organization [ULFTA]," and "all aliens of European extraction according to public opinion are unreliable."[44]

In June 1941 Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union required a revaluation of the Canadian government's relations with the Soviet Union and the CPC.[45] The invasion completely changed the political position of the Ukrainian community in Canada. The Soviet Union, undoubtedly the greatest enemy of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, was now an ally of the British Empire and Canada. The Canadian Communists and other left-wing Ukrainians did not hesitate to take advantage of this new situation and immediately began to campaign for greater allied involvement in supporting the Soviet war effort. They continued with greater passion the ideological war against the UCC, which soon found itself on the defensive.[46]

On 16 August 1941 Petrowsky on his own initiative requested permission to attend the Eighth National Convention of the UNF in

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43. Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Val-d'Or-Bourlamaque, Quebec, Memorandum of 20 January 1940, LAC, RG146, Records of CSIS.

44. Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Val-d'Or-Bourlamaque, Quebec, Report of 29 April 1940; Memorandum of 27 September 1940, LAC, RG146, Records of CSIS.

45. The RCMP continued to conduct surveillance of the CPC, including volunteers in the Canadian Armed Forces. See Chris Frazer, "From Pariahs to Patriots: Canadian Communists and the Second World War," *Past Imperfect* 5 (1996): 3–36.

46. For a study of Canadian-Soviet relations during the Second World War, see J. L. Black and N. Hillmer, "'Allies of Any Kind': Russians and Canadians in Two World Wars," in *Reflections on Canada: Historical and Cultural Almanac,* ed. Vadim A. Koleneko (Moscow: Institut vseobshchei istorii Rossiskoi akademii nauk, 1999), issue 2: 24–38.

Winnipeg on 28–30 August 1941. He would attend this convention during his vacation, while returning from the Canadian Authors Association Convention in Vancouver. Petrowsky was given permission to attend the convention by S/Sgt. J. Leopold, but as part of his regular duties and not while he was on leave. Leopold expected "a good report covering the UNO [UNF] Convention."[47]

On 10 October 1941, R. A. Robertson writing to the Canadian High Commissioner in England on behalf of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitted a report on the Eighth National Convention of the UNF prepared by the RCMP. He stated that "this report has been written by a special constable of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who has expert knowledge of the Ukrainian question, with particular reference to the situation in Canada. The report describes very clearly and objectively the dilemma in which the Ukrainian nationalists now find themselves."[48] A report on the United Hetman Organization of Canada was also included. He stated that this movement was "small and is being opposed by most of the other Ukrainian societies. The majority of its members appear to be well-meaning and conservative in their attitude and actions. The evil spirit of the Organization is Michael Hethman and a number of his followers. This clique has anti-democratic and pro-German tendencies, but has refrained from expressing them since the war broke out. These people secretly endorse Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. They still hope that Hitler will create a Ukraine with Skoropadsky enthroned as the supreme leader.... Although the Organization has not committed any acts hostile to Canada or the British Empire, we are inclined to regard it as a potential danger as long as it maintains connections with the Hetman centre in Europe."[49]

Petrowsky also attended the First National Eucharistic Congress of Eastern Rites held in Chicago on 25–29 June 1941. He interviewed various participants and prepared a long report, which reflected the

47. Memorandum and Correspondence, 16 August 1941, 21 August 1941, RCMP, M. Petrowsky Personnel Service File. The file was obtained under the Access to Information Act.

48. Ukrainian Movement in Canada, LAC, Department of External Affairs, RG25, A-12, vol. 2095, file 39/1.

49. Ibid. (10 October 1941). The Hetman movement in Canada began to fade after 1939 when the United Hetman Organization was declared as "un-American" by the Dies Committee in the United States.

contemporary attitudes within the Ukrainian community. Some Ukrainian leaders hoped that the Soviet Union would be defeated and a Ukrainian state established.[50]

The staff numbers at RCMP headquarters in Ottawa peaked between mid-1940 and early 1942. It consisted of three officers and seventy workers, including twenty-three stenographers and four translators, with a cumulative working knowledge of twenty-four languages.[51]

The RCMP continued its surveillance of the UNF. Its annual convention, held in Winnipeg on 15–17 January 1943, adopted a series of principles that emphasized its loyalty to Canada. Although the convention confirmed and renewed the call for "a free, an independent and sovereign state," it called upon UNF members "within the limits of loyalty to Canada, to support morally and materially the efforts of the Ukrainian nation towards its political freedom."[52] The RCMP report noted that it seemed that the focus was now on the UNF organization in Canada and this was the result of "a natural process of Canadianization and, undoubtedly, the influence of the Canadian-born membership, as well as that of Anglo-Canadian friends of the UNF."[53] The convention defined the Canadian patriotism of UNF members in terms of their support to Canada's war effort and their strong resistance to Communism.[54]

Petrowsky prepared a detailed report on the convention of the UNF held in Toronto from 30 June to 2 July 1944. A resolution stated that the UNF "expresses hostility to all forms of totalitarianism—fascism, nazism and communism—and pledges support to the democratic form of government."[55] The members declared their loyalty to Canada and that "[t]hey want themselves and their children to be worthy, good and loyal Canadian citizens."[56]

A long report on the Ukrainian Canadian Association (UCA, the successor to the banned ULFTA) appeared in the monthly *Intelligence*

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50. A portion of the report is found in Kealey and Whitaker (eds.), *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series,* 391–6.

51. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service*, 2: 515.

52. Kealey and Whitaker (eds.), *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series,* 68. The report on the convention is on pages 67–70.

53. Ibid., 68.

54. Ibid., 69.

55. Ibid., 185–92.

56. Ibid., 192.

Report of 1 November 1944. The report outlined a feature article written by Steve Macievich, editor of *Ukrainske zhyttia*, and published in this newspaper on 21 September 1944. He made some interesting distinctions among Ukrainians in Canada. He believed that Ukrainian immigrants would return to Ukraine when the war was over, but those "who have taken a deep root in Canada" would remain to build the "labour Progressive movement." The Canadian-born and Canadian-reared Ukrainians will not be inclined to return for "[t]hey are full-fledged Canadians now and only a stupid type of Canadian still considers them foreigners."[57]

At the Tenth National Convention of the UNF held in Winnipeg on 26–28 January1945, the question of independence was once again raised by various speakers. There were appeals to Ukrainians to "try for maximum co-operation between all Ukrainian factions in Canada and to become good Canadian citizens," as well as "to become better Canadians by being good Ukrainians."[58] Although the UNF promoted Ukrainian nationalism in Canada, it made a deliberate effort to declare and maintain a link with loyalty to Canada.

The report covering of the UNF convention also described and analyzed the policy of the UCA. According to the report, the association believed that "confronted with the natural process of assimilation, the Ukrainians in Canada must intensively organize themselves in order to ensure the 'Ukrainian national character' in Canada for many years to come." The Ukrainian-Canadian enemies of the association were identified as "agents of German imperialism, who conceal their face with a 'national' mask." The anti-Communist opposition was described as "anti-Ukrainian" and guilty of "sins against their homeland."[59]

The end of the war left the UNF and its allied organizations in a defensive position. The UCA, in contrast, was full of confidence and planned to expand its membership and activities across Canada. The two movements renewed their bitter competition over the claim to be the legitimate representative of all Canadians of Ukrainian origin.

In 1945–46 Igor Gouzenko's revelations of Soviet espionage in Canada and the royal commission they spawned again changed the

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57. Ibid., 212–15.

58. Ibid., 272–6.

59. Ibid., 280–4.

political atmosphere. The Cold War between the Soviet Union and its former allies expanded rapidly and its effects were soon felt inside Canada. The RCMP was surprised by the extent of the Soviet spy network in Canada and the first priority for the Special Branch, the postwar internal security component of the RCMP, became the discovery and prevention of further Soviet espionage in Canada.[60]

With the arrival of the third wave of Ukrainian immigration in Canada, the RCMP extended its surveillance campaign to the recently arrived refugees and displaced persons (DPs). An RCMP member was sent to London, England, in late October 1946 to join the security team processing the new applicants. During the years 1947–56, the security team rejected 23,500 of the DPs screened for entry into Canada.[61] In Canada special attention was devoted to the DPs contacts with the Ukrainian left-wing movement.

In October 1950 the federal interdepartmental Security Panel provided the guidelines for processing applicants for Canadian citizenship. Among those rejected were active Communists and members of Communist-controlled organizations. A two-years period of deferment was suggested for applicants with apparent communist-related membership or association of a less-active nature. For members of the CPC and the AUUC acquiring Canadian citizenship continued to be a major point of contention with the federal government throughout the 1950s.[62]

The establishment and consolidation of pro-Communist regimes in central and eastern Europe, the Berlin Crisis, and the outbreak of the Korean War again raised the possibility of another world war. Under these circumstances, the RCMP information collection program had a specific motive. Information was acquired to determine and apply "criteria sufficient to justify detention of individuals posing an internal threat in the event of an emergency (for example, a Soviet attack)." The RCMP had a representative on an advisory committee to the Minister of Justice, which regularly held hearings to identify such individuals.[63]

60. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service*, 2: 541–64.

61. Howard Margolian, *Unauthorized Entry: The Truth About Nazi War Criminals in Canada, 1946–1956* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 3–4.

62. Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907–1991* (Toronto: Lugus, 1996), 430.

63. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service*, 2: 664. The official RCMP attitude towards the pro-Communist groups in Canada is described in some detail in chapter

Until the early 1960s, the only postwar subversive threat to Canada was that associated with individuals and organizations identified as Communist. Soviet intelligence agencies made some attempts to recruit CPC members visiting the Soviet Union for various tasks in Canada.[64] The RCMP continued to monitor the activities of "front" organizations and the "mass-language" groups.[65] Individuals and organizations that maintained contacts with the Soviet Union and "eastern-bloc" countries were subject to surveillance and investigation. This surveillance extended to a large variety of peace organizations, university clubs and student and academic societies (including Slavic and east European studies associations such as the Canadian Association of Slavists). It should be emphasized that these organizations were identified as "not necessarily subversive."

The percentage of Canadian-born members of the Ukrainian community continued to increase with each census. By the 1960s the CPC members in the Ukrainian community were aging and their numbers were declining. Local and smaller branches of the AUUC decreased their level of activity and in many cases disappeared. The more active branches in the larger urban centres remained. The deterioration of China-Soviet relations in the early 1960s also contributed to a change in the priorities of the RCMP. The growth of the separatist threat in Quebec also broadened the responsibilities of the RCMP. By this period, the Anti-Communist Section at RCMP headquarters was renamed the Counter-Subversion Unit to reflect the changes in priorities.[66] Michael Petrow-

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thirteen, entitled "Communism," in *Law and Order in Canadian Democracy: Crime and Police Work in Canada,* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1952). The chapter emphasized that the danger posed by the CPC was due to "its subservience to Moscow" and to "agents of the Soviet Union." It should be noted that the book also included a chapter (fourteen) entitled "Fascism and National Socialism."

64. John Boyd, *A Noble Cause Betrayed … but Hope Lives On: Pages from a Political Life* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1999), 14. Boyd states that "Moscow tried to recruit me."

65. Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service,* 2: 655–7.

66. The Soviet Union intelligence services continued to take an active interest in the activities of the RCMP and in 1967 succeeded in obtaining the services of a RCMP agent and penetrating the Security Service. See Peter Marwitz, "Gilles Brunet: A KGB Mole in the RCMP" (a paper presented to the Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies, University of Ottawa, 31 May 1998). For information on RCMP surveillance in related areas, see Larry Hannant, *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); and Steve Hewitt, *Spying*

sky, who began to work for the RCMP in 1939, retired from the force on 30 June 1966.[67] His work was continued by Ukrainian-speaking civilian and uniformed members of the RCMP.

In reviewing the history of the relationship between the RCMP and the Ukrainian community from the First World War until the 1960s, it is possible to discern some general trends. It should be emphasized that the Ukrainian community was only one of many on which documentation was compiled by the RCMP. Also, the RCMP was not the only federal agency compiling information on Ukrainians in Canada.[68]

The events in Canada during the First World War certainly defined the relationship between the RCMP and the Ukrainian community for many succeeding decades. Again, the target of the law-enforcement agencies were the citizens of Austria-Hungary and not exclusively Ukrainians, who were identified at that time as Galicians, Bukovynians, and Ruthenians. It was only towards the end of the First World War that the term "Ukrainian" entered into more popular usage and appeared more frequently in RCMP documentation. No doubt, the war contributed to the development of Ukrainian national consciousness in Canada by encouraging many Ukrainians to shed the designation of "Austrian."

The treatment of Ukrainians by the federal authorities as "enemy aliens," then as "radical aliens," and later simply as "foreigners" produced a mixed reaction in all segments of the community, especially the left-wing community. With time the RCMP documentation of individuals and organizations became more refined and sophisticated. The work of Michael Petrowsky as special constable in the RCMP was without doubt beneficial to the Ukrainian nationalist community, which was viewed with deep suspicion by some influential federal politicians and public servants in the years preceding 1939. He was able to identify and analyze the

101: The RCMP's Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917–1997 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

67. *The Quarterly, Royal Canadian Mounted Police* 47, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 79. Petrowsky died at the age of eighty-four in Toronto on 7 April 1982. By the 1960s Ukrainian Canadians were members of the uniformed RCMP force and other civilian employees were hired as translators and special constables.

68. It should be emphasized that other ethnocultural communities were also under surveillance. For example, see Michelle McBride, "Fascism, Secret Agents and the RCMP Security Service, 1939–41: Preliminary Remarks on Three Secret Agents in the Italian-Canadian Community of Montreal" (paper presented to joint CHA/CASIS Panel, University of Ottawa, 31 May 1998).

divisions within the nationalist and also the Communist communities avoiding the blanket classifications and generalizations which were common during the early decades of RCMP surveillance.[69] However, this information was circulated only within a limited circle of police officials, public servants and politicians. Attitudes toward the Ukrainian community at the lower levels of the RCMP in many cases remained the same over time and continued to be based on preconceived concepts and stereotypes.

The RCMP established its goals and objectives regarding national security issues in times of national crisis—the outbreak of the First World War, the wave of revolutions in 1918–19, the beginning of the Depression, the outbreak of the Second World War, and the onset of the Cold War in the early 1950s. These goals and objectives, which included the selection of specific groups and individuals for surveillance, remained in place in periods of relative calm and stability. As a result, the RCMP amassed vast records on Canadian ethnocultural and political groups when, perhaps, more effort should have been invested in analyzing than in compiling data. It seems that the RCMP was at times overwhelmed by the vast amount of material on the Ukrainian community. Regardless of the justification of the surveillance of the Ukrainian community, which extended over several decades, the archival record that survives is a rich source of historical information on the community.[70]

The RCMP certainly did have an impact on the evolution of the Ukrainian community in Canada. From the earliest years the RCMP monitored the settlement of Ukrainians, the establishment and growth of their community organizations, and their political evolution. Through its administration of federal government policies, the RCMP was active in the deportation of Ukrainian immigrants, especially in the 1930s,[71] and

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69. Petrowsky's work contributed to a more objective analysis of political activities within the Ukrainian-Canadian community and mitigated government action based on political influence and pressure as demonstrated by the Dies Committee on un-American Activities in the United States. See Myron B. Kuropas, *The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884–1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 221–30.

70. This archival record is now part of the records of the Canadian Intelligence and Security Service (RG146). Access to these records is possible at LAC through the Access to Information Act. See Gregory S. Kealey, "In the Canadian Archives on Security and Intelligence," *Dalhousie Review* 75, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 26–38.

71. The subject of deportations was not discussed in this paper, but it can be the topic of a separate study, especially its impact on the Ukrainian community. For information

the awarding of Canadian naturalization and later, citizenship. And in the late 1940s, the RCMP was involved in the selection of DPs in western Europe for immigration to Canada. The RCMP certainly helped to create, shape, and perpetuate the image of the loyal Ukrainian Canadian and, in historical terms, influenced the development of the present Ukrainian-Canadian community.

on this, see Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900–1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).

(Re)reading the Female Ethnic Subject: Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*

Lisa Grekul

For almost forty years Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots* (first published in 1954 and reprinted in 1992) was largely ignored within the Canadian literary institution.[1] Vera Lysenko was the pseudonym of Vera Lesik, a daughter of working-class Ukrainian immigrants, who was born in Winnipeg in 1910 and died in 1975.[2] In addition to *Yellow Boots*, she wrote *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (1947) and a second novel, *Westerly Wild* (1956). Subjected to "McCarthy-like treatment" as a result of her leftist political views and pushed to the margins of a literary canon that for many years has privileged Anglo-Canadian voices over those of ethnic-minority writers, Lysenko slipped through the cracks of Canadian literary history. As a Ukrainian-Canadian woman who endeavoured to live by her pen at a time when women's roles were more conventionally defined in domestic terms, Lysenko was in many ways a

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1. Prior to the re-release of *Yellow Boots* in 1992, the novel was mentioned briefly in three book-length studies of Canadian literature: Laurie Ricou's *Vertical Man/Horizontal World: Man and Landscape in Canadian Prairie Fiction* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973); Dick Harrison's *Unnamed Country: The Struggle for a Canadian Prairie Fiction* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1977); and E. D. Blodgett's *Configurations: Essays in the Canadian Literatures* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1982). Frances Swyripa provides more extensive commentary on Lysenko's novel in *Ukrainian-Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978).

2. For a more comprehensive discussion of Lysenko's biography, see Alexandra Kruchka Glynn, "Reintroducing Vera Lysenko—Ukrainian Canadian Author," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 15, no. 1 (1990): 53–70.

pioneering literary figure. As a number of critics[3] have pointed out in recent years, *Yellow Boots* merits serious scholarly attention because it represents the first book-length English-language portrayal of Ukrainians in Canada by a Ukrainian-Canadian writer. *That* the book should be drawn into ongoing debates within the Canadian literary institution is obvious: *how* Lysenko's work should be talked about, however—or, put another way, *what* the book actually tells us about Ukrainian Canadians at a particular place and time—is less clear.

What Lysenko tries to script in *Yellow Boots* is the story of a Ukrainian-Canadian girl who in the process of growing up and leaving her family's rural home, makes a successful transition and a rich contribution to Canadian culture. In keeping with Lysenko's belief, articulated in *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, that assimilation is a "two-way street" (that is, in the process of becoming "Canadianized" ethnic immigrants both influence and are influenced by their new society), she sets out to depict a heroine who ascends the social and economic hierarchies of Canadian society while preserving meaningful ties to her ethnic heritage. But what Lysenko actually achieves is a decidedly more complicated—albeit largely unconscious—portrayal of the extent to which assimilation resulted in profound linguistic and cultural loss for Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants. The real value of this novel lies not in its illustration of the tenacity and resilience of Ukrainian-Canadian culture, but rather in Lysenko's commentary on the insurmountable societal constraints placed on Ukrainian Canadians (and especially Ukrainian-Canadian women) during the first half of the twentieth century.

Set in the small Manitoba town of Prairie Dawn and in Winnipeg between 1929 and 1941, *Yellow Boots* tells the story of Lilli Landash, a

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3. See Beverly Rasporich, "Retelling Vera Lysenko: A Feminist and Ethnic Writer," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 21, no. 2 (1989): 38–52 and "Vera Lysenko's Fictions: Engendering Prairie Spaces," *Prairie Forum* 16, no. 2 (1991): 249–63; Glynn, "Reintroducing Vera Lysenko"; Carolyn Redl, "Neither Here nor There: Canadian Fiction by the Multicultural Generation," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 22–36; Tamara Palmer Seiler, "Including the Female Immigrant Story: A Comparative Look at Narrative Strategies," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 51–66; and Sonia Mycak, "Simple Sentimentality or Specific Narrative Strategy? The Functions and Use of Nostalgia in the Ukrainian-Canadian Text," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 30, no. 1 (1998): 50–63. A revised version of Mycak's essay appears in her *Canuke Literature: Critical Essays on Canadian Ukrainian Writing* (Huntington: Nova Science Press, 2001).

young girl whose parents immigrated to Canada from Ukraine[4] in order
to escape the oppression of their Austrian overlords. Lilli's childhood in
rural Manitoba is a dismal one: at the age of six, she is "lent out" to her
uncle by her abusive father, Anton; after five years of hard physical
labour on her uncle's farm, she becomes frail and weak. At the outset of
the novel, Lilli, deathly ill, is returned to her father. But her father is
indifferent to his ailing daughter. Nothing is more precious to Anton than
land and sons, so Lilli's imminent death means little to him. In fact, as
Lilli lies on her deathbed, neither her father *nor* her mother grieves for
the dying child. Although Lilli's sisters (and certainly her brother Petey)
are treated lovingly by their parents, Lilli herself—for reasons never
explicitly outlined in the narrative—is treated as an outcast. (Tellingly, if
somewhat unbelievably, during her five-year absence from the family, all
have forgotten her real name—they refer to her pejoratively as "Gypsy.")
When Lilli miraculously survives her illness, no one rejoices. Indeed,
throughout Lilli's childhood and adolescence, the local schoolmaster Ian
MacTavish is the only person who sees that she is an exceptional girl,
that she has been given the gift of song. When Lilli turns sixteen and her
father arranges her marriage to a loathsome brute, it is MacTavish who
helps her escape to the city. In Winnipeg Lilli meets a number of other
men—the pianist Sam, the choir singer Tim, and the choirmaster Matthew
Reiner—who help her establish her new identity. She joins a multi-ethnic
choir, goes to night school, and eventually embarks upon a successful
career as a concert singer. Ultimately, Lilli rejects a concert career, but
she continues to express her artistic passion by singing the folk songs of
her people and by establishing her own dressmaking shop. She also
becomes engaged to her choirmaster. The novel concludes with Lilli's
visit home to the Landash farm after a seven-year absence where she is
dismayed to find that her family has embraced all things Anglo-Canadian
and rejected all things Ukrainian. Lilli alone is left to preserve the
traditions of her people through her gift of song, and there is little doubt
that she will succeed in doing so when Lilli's mother passes on to Lilli her
yellow boots, potent symbols (in the novel, at least) of Ukrainian culture.

In the decade or so that has passed since the re-introduction of *Yellow
Boots* to Canadian readers, a number of scholars, including Beverly
Rasporich, Alexandra Kruchka Glynn, Tamara Palmer Seiler, Sonia

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4. Lysenko does not say precisely when the Landashes immigrated to Canada.

Mycak, and Carolyn Redl, have called attention to the crucial position that Lysenko's novel occupies in the Ukrainian-Canadian literary tradition. In their readings of *Yellow Boots*, Glynn, Rasporich, and Seiler argue that Lysenko explicitly challenges Anglo-Canadians' and, more specifically, Anglo-Canadian writers' attitudes toward and perceptions of Ukrainian Canadians. In her introduction to the 1992 edition of the novel, Glynn says that *Yellow Boots* "[does] not conform to the attitudes and images of the dominant Anglo presence in Canadian literature."[5] Rasporich refers to Lysenko's text as "a tribute to Ukrainian settlement on the prairies," and "a progressive challenge to official Anglo-Canadian history."[6] Seiler suggests that Lysenko "asserts the beauty and value of Ukrainian culture."[7] Moreover, these scholars emphasize the notion that *Yellow Boots* celebrates both the "beauty and value of Ukrainian culture" *and* the Ukrainian-Canadian woman's crucial role in preserving Ukrainian culture. According to Glynn, the novel underscores the fact that "the retention of Ukrainian culture is carried out by the women."[8] Important-ly, some scholars point out that in *Yellow Boots* the Ukrainian-Canadian woman is a champion of other ethnic minority groups as well as her own. "By having Lilli sing not only Ukrainian folk songs, but also songs pro-duced by a variety of immigrants," Seiler argues, "Lysenko subverts the imperial insistence on a unitary vision of Canadian culture and na-tionality."[9] Pointing to the text's mythologization of the prairie land-scape, some critics describe Lysenko's heroine as "a new world em-bodiment of the ancient female earth goddess, a female creator who can link old and new and synthesize diversity through the power of a nurturing and holistic female vision."[10] Rasporich argues that the novel is a "fertility myth" in which Lilli "replants" herself in the "New World" and, "with feminine accommodation, assimilat[es] into the new mother culture, accepting all of its hybrid children in all of their ethnic diversity, and becoming their female artist."[11] Generally speaking, critics' readings

5. Alexandra Kruchka Glynn, "Introduction," in *Yellow Boots* (Edmonton: NeWest Press and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), xi.

6. Rasporich, "Retelling Vera Lysenko," 40.

7. Seiler, "Including the Female Immigrant Story," 55.

8. Glynn, "Introduction," xxi.

9. Seiler, "Including the Female Immigrant Story," 56.

10. Ibid., 56.

11. Rasporich, "Vera Lysenko's Fictions," 257.

of *Yellow Boots* rely on three assumptions: (1) that in leaving her father's home, Lilli successfully challenges patriarchal social structures; (2) that in becoming a singer of Ukrainian songs, she retains her Ukrainian culture; and (3) that by singing the songs of numerous ethnic groups, she preserves the cultures of multiple ethnic minority groups.

Yet Lysenko's attempts to "asser[t] the beauty and value of Ukrainian culture"[12] are thwarted by her decidedly negative depictions of Ukrainian Canadians in portions of *Yellow Boots*. In the first paragraphs of the novel, as Lilli is being transported home to her father by railway worker Mike O'Donovan and schoolteacher Ian MacTavish, these two Anglo-Canadian (Irish and Scottish, respectively) characters establish the binary opposition upon which the narrative relies: modern, civilized Anglo-Canadian society versus backward, primitive Ukrainian culture. As O'Donovan and Mac-Tavish talk, they attempt to "reconcile the evidences of modern civilization—telephone wires, grain elevators, railways—with the primitive character of the [Ukrainian] people."[13] Approaching the Landash farm, O'Donovan and MacTavish witness a group of Ukrainians on their way to church—four or five wagons "filled with men in sheepskin coats and women in leather boleros, long coloured skirts and white turbans."[14] MacTavish, who is new to the community, is intrigued by the Ukrainians' ethnic costumes and their old-fashioned mode of transportation: to him, they are "like something out of a history book."[15] And O'Donovan, who has spent many years in Prairie Dawn, agrees with MacTavish, explaining that the Ukrainians are "still pioneering, when pioneering days are over for most of the other settlers."[16] O'Donovan, in fact, says that he has seen the Ukrainians "plough the land as people used to in England in the time of Alfred the Great."[17] Neither O'Donovan nor MacTavish can "believe that this [is] the year 1929 in the new world."[18]

The conversation between O'Donovan and MacTavish, of course, reflects the (then dominant) attitudes of Anglo-Canadians toward ethnic

12. Seiler, "Including the Female Immigrant Story," 55.

13. Vera Lysenko, *Yellow Boots* (Edmonton: NeWest Press and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 12.

14. Ibid., 10.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 13.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 11.

minority groups: members of dominant Anglo-Canadian society, the two
men see Ukrainians as strange and inferior—as "other" to the Canadian
"self." As the narrative unfolds, Lysenko attempts to counter their
negative perceptions of the Ukrainian settler community with positive
descriptions of the Landash family's customs and traditions. Divided into
six parts (the first five of which focus on Lilli's years at home), *Yellow
Boots* offers countless detailed depictions of Ukrainians' cultural and
religious practices. In "Rites of Spring," the first part of the novel,
Lysenko dramatizes Ukrainians' funeral rites (when Lilli is ill, her parents
prepare for her funeral), folk stories and arts (her grandmother spins
tapestries and tales), and folk dances (the children frolic and play en route
to school). In "Songs of the Seasons," Lysenko traces a full year in the
lives of the Landash family, drawing attention to the ways in which they
worship the soil and the seasons; and in "The Wreath Plaiting," she
focuses on birth, matchmaking, and marriage rituals. "Dancing Boots,
Peasant Boots," moreover, centres on Easter rites and Midsummer
celebrations, and "The Grandparents" explores the rich Ukrainian musical
heritage passed on from grandfather and grandmother to Lilli. Really,
until Lilli faces the crisis of her arranged marriage—until she leaves her
family home in the sixth and final part of the novel ("In Search of a Lost
Legend")—the narrative meanders along with no apparent purpose, save
to highlight the complexity and vitality of Ukrainian-Canadian culture.
Frances Swyripa's notion that *Yellow Boots* is a "valuable … record of
Ukrainian peasant customs and beliefs as they were practiced by first-
generation Ukrainians in Canada,"[19] and Rasporich's notion that it is a
"celebratory record of customs,"[20] are well grounded in the first five
parts of the novel.

Without a doubt, *Yellow Boots* represents Lysenko's conscious
attempt to combat many Anglo-Canadians' negative perceptions of
Ukrainians and their way of life. As her concluding chapter to *Men in
Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* shows, she was particularly
conscious of and troubled by the ways in which Anglo-Canadian writers
had misrepresented Ukrainians in their work:

> [i]n the writings of our novelists and short story writers little or no
> cognizance has been taken of the fact that one-quarter of Canada's

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19. Swyripa, Ukrainian-Canadians, 83.

20. Rasporich, "Retelling Vera Lysenko," 43.

entire population is of non-Anglo-Saxon, non-French descent. Seldom indeed does one encounter a character of, let us say, Slavic origin, in Canadian fiction, except in the role of an illiterate, a clown, a villain or a domestic servant.... The magnificent drama of migration and assimilation to Canada's western lands of a polyglot population has not appealed to Canadian writers, mainly for the reason that consciously or unconsciously they still prefer to think of the non-Anglo-Saxon as a comic or uncouth personage, unworthy of elevation to the dignity of literary subject-material.[21]

To bolster her argument in *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, Lysenko refers to Morley Callaghan's *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (1935),[22] which features a heroine of Ukrainian origin, Anna Prychoda, who, regrettably, "possesses no distinctively Ukrainian traits": according to Lysenko, Callaghan's protagonist "might as well have been of French, Irish or Icelandic ancestry."[23] Foreshadowing her own enterprise with *Yellow Boots*, Lysenko suggests that Canadian literature should represent the "particular characteristics and problems" of the multiple ethnic groups that it comprises.[24] After pointing out that "much ... was noble in the lives of the common folk who did the arduous work of pioneering in our western lands" and that "beneath the rough exterior and foreign tongue were concealed worthy motives," she calls for Ukrainian-Canadian writers of the second and third generation to "seize upon the opportunities for fresh and original expression in literary and artistic forms by exploiting their lives and the lives of their parents and grandparents as subject material."[25]

However noble her intentions, Lysenko offers a decidedly ambivalent portrait of Ukrainians in *Yellow Boots*. O'Donovan's and MacTavish's negative perceptions of Ukrainian Canadians in the first paragraphs of the novel are never entirely absent from Lysenko's later depictions of

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21. Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), 293–4.

22. Although she makes no explicit mention of Ralph Connor's *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1909), a novel that depicts Ukrainians as uncivilized in the extreme, it seems likely that Lysenko was familiar with this book. She may well have written *Yellow Boots* as a response to Connor's intensely negative attitudes toward Ukrainians.

23. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats,* 293.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 294.

Ukrainian Canadians. This suggests that she internalized, at least to some extent, many Anglo-Canadians' derogatory attitudes toward Ukrainian immigrants. Stereotypes of the Ukrainian community as barbaric and ignorant resonate throughout the text undermining the novel's positive representation of Ukrainian-Canadian culture. O'Donovan and MacTavish and, eventually, Matthew Reiner explicitly state that Ukrainians are "primitive,"[26] that their social and cultural practices spring from the "childhood of the human race,"[27] and Lysenko implicitly affirms these assessments. From the outset Lysenko foregrounds Ukrainian Canadians' inhumanity primarily through Anton Landash: he sends Lilli to work at the tender age of six, decides to bury her in an old tool box not to waste good lumber on a coffin, upon her recovery forces her to perform the work of a man, and beats her when she collapses from exhaustion. Importantly, too, Anton's wife Zenobia fails to defend Lilli against his cruelty and the arranged marriage to Simon Zachary in exchange for land. Both Anton and Zenobia are indifferent to the fact that Zachary "beat his last wife when she was carrying a child,"[28] which led to her death in childbirth, and both ignore Lilli's plea for her life: "[t]hat's my life you're trading for your fields. As long as I live, I'll be paying for those acres. That's too high a price."[29] Tellingly, when Anton cuts Lilli out of a family photograph and her "tiny piece" falls to the ground, his cruelty is *"not noticed by anyone except Lilli."*[30] The novel demonstrates that not only Anton but also Zenobia, and not only the Landashes but also the entire Ukrainian-Canadian community view women as inferior to men. That the Ukrainian Canadians of Prairie Dawn clearly disapprove of unmarried, independent women is evidenced by their treatment of the old, eccentric widow Tamara. Tamara is accused of casting evil spells on members of the community. One evening, as members of the community gather to discuss Tamara's witchcraft, their "voices swell in a crescendo of fury,"[31] and they drive Tamara to her death.

In *Yellow Boots* what distinguishes Ukrainian Canadians from Anglo-Canadians is their barbarity, rather than their sexism. Lilli escapes from

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26. Lysenko, *Yellow Boots*, 12, 30.

27. Ibid., 282.

28. Ibid., 220.

29. Ibid., 219.

30. Ibid., 76.

31. Ibid., 176.

one patriarchal social structure only to enter into another. Hence her status as a "practical feminist heroine"[32] is questionable. Her transition from the farm to the city, from an abused farm girl to an independent city woman, is accomplished less through her own actions than through the intervention of a series of men: her schoolteacher, Ian MacTavish; her pianist friend, Sam; her suitor, Tim; and her choirmaster-cum-fiancé, Matthew Reiner. The "new" men in her life save Lilli from her father's brutality, but not from domination by male figures. That most of them (MacTavish, Tim, Reiner) are sexually attracted to her points rather unambiguously to their ulterior motives in helping Lilli and invalidates a feminist reading of her move to the city.

Ian MacTavish's initial interest in Lilli (when she is still a child) grows out of both his personal and professional ambitions. MacTavish originally comes to the country school in order to fulfill his aspirations as an anthropologist: he seeks to observe and record the transformation of primitive Ukrainian culture to modern Canadian culture, and Lilli becomes his prime specimen. "Without her," he wonders, "how many months it would have taken [me] to understand the [Ukrainians]!"[33] On Lilli's first day of school, MacTavish bestows upon her a new name, "Lilli," then proceeds to teach her to speak proper English and to sing British songs, all the while filling notebooks with ethnographic data regarding the state of Ukrainian culture in transition.[34] Near the conclusion of *Yellow Boots* he is re-introduced as "Dr. Ian MacTavish, eminent anthropologist"; the diaries that he keeps during his stint in Prairie Dawn become the "basis of his lifetime work."[35] Moreover, as MacTavish studies Lilli, he becomes emotionally and physically attracted to her:

> as she stood in the brilliant sunshine, dressed shabbily in men's clothing too large for her, defensive yet secret, she had a feminine allure, the beginning of womanhood. MacTavish could not look at her without a stirring of emotion, compounded of pity and something akin to excitement, a consciousness that here was something rare and undeveloped.[36]

32. Rasporich, "Vera Lysenko's Fictions," 250.

33. Lysenko, *Yellow Boots*, 233.

34. Ibid., 41, 43, 56.

35. Ibid., 351.

36. Ibid., 59.

At once an object of "pity" and a source of "excitement," Lilli becomes MacTavish's project—something (not someone) "rare" that he can "develop" according to his own blueprints and designs. Instrumental in ensuring her escape from her father, he instructs her "in the business of leaving the village and obtaining employment in the city."[37] And while, years later, he marvels at her progress, MacTavish nonetheless regrets that he has had to "share [her] with so many others!"[38] He pines for his early days as a schoolteacher in Prairie Dawn when, as he says, "she was mine—my discovery."[39]

Tim (the young man who courts Lilli when she first arrives in the city) shares MacTavish's interest in Lilli. Like MacTavish, he is drawn to Lilli's innocence and naiveté, and like MacTavish, he helps to facilitate Lilli's integration into Anglo-Canadian society. Though both men are attracted by Lilli's wild, untamed nature, they seek to educate her in the ways of the modern world by playing the part of father/lover. For Lilli, each meeting with Tim becomes a "voyage of discovery, a step forward in life."[40] After Tim discovers that Lilli knows neither her birthday nor her real name, he makes inquiries with the Manitoba government and eventually produces her birth certificate: "you see," he explains to Lilli, condescendingly, "everybody is born, that is how we get into the world."[41] Not unlike MacTavish, who transformed "Gypsy" into "Lilli," Tim, too, endeavours to rename her. According to Tim, Lilli's "real" name is Oksana. In the act of renaming her, Tim, like MacTavish before him, becomes a sort of father figure to Lilli; he tends to treat Lilli less like a woman than a child. After he renames her, he throws a birthday party for her, lavishing her with gifts—seventeen presents, one for each year of her life. Childlike, Lilli opens the gifts, treasuring the knickknacks that Tim has given her. Not surprisingly, his final gift is a diamond ring, which introduces the topic of marriage into their conversation. And while Lilli turns down his marriage proposal, Tim's sexual attraction to her and his desire to make her his wife are ever-present in his interactions with her.

Much like MacTavish and Tim, Matthew Reiner (Lilli's choirmaster) bases his relationship with Lilli on his ambivalent desire to transform her (in

37. Ibid., 228.
38. Ibid., 353.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 274.
41. Ibid., 275.

dress, manners, and speech) and to possess her (physically). Reiner, a classically trained musician from Austria,[42] directs a multicultural choir that comprises ethnic immigrant factory workers. Like MacTavish, Reiner is interested in studying the assimilation of working class ethnic immigrants to Anglo-Canadian society. In fact, with unmistakable parallels to MacTavish, Reiner harbours a secret dream to conduct an experiment: "what could be done to develop a human being of great ability," he wonders, "but of almost absolute ignorance?"[43] In Lilli, Reiner finds the ideal specimen. She is "young," "naïve," "wild," and filled with "primitive passion."[44] Upon meeting her, Reiner immediately recognizes in her the perfect experimental subject: "here she is. What she may become depends on us."[45] As with MacTavish and Tim, Lilli's initiative in her own coming-of-age is overshadowed by Reiner's domineering role in her life. He gets her to give up her position as a domestic servant and finds her a job in a factory, arranging for her to go to night school in the evenings. For her calluses he suggests hand lotion and exercises to give her hands "grace and pliability."[46] Interestingly, when Lilli makes her own decisions—for example, when she appears at choir practice in elegant evening attire—Reiner steps in, criticizing her choices: "We can wait a few years for this suit, next time, wear the green angora dress."[47] Lilli thrives, of course, under Reiner's tutelage: she establishes herself as a successful concert singer, then opens her own dressmaking shop. And she freely admits her debt to Reiner: "I studied hard to please you, to speak well, to dress properly.… All for you."[48] It is only after Lilli's transformation from a naïve country girl to a mature modern woman that Reiner decides to make her his wife. Near the close of the novel, he announces that he has "waited long enough for [Lilli] to grow up."[49] Reiner has waited, yes, but not passively. He has actively directed

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42. Although Lysenko mentions several times that Reiner is Austrian, and hints, too, near the novel's conclusion, that he is Jewish—introducing what could become a provocative subtext to the novel—she never fully capitalizes on the opportunity. Reiner comes across in the narrative as Anglo-Canadian, *tout court*.

43. Lysenko, *Yellow Boots*, 273.

44. Ibid., 267, 305.

45. Ibid., 280.

46. Ibid., 271.

47. Ibid., 280.

48. Ibid., 347.

49. Ibid.

her "growing up," molding her according to the precise specifications that he always has had in mind for her. For Reiner the experiment is a success.

But is Reiner's experiment a success for Lilli? In the process of growing up and leaving her father's home, Lilli must negotiate her way not only between two cultures but also between two patriarchal systems. When she escapes from her parents' farm to the city, Lilli leaves both her abusive father *and* her traditional Ukrainian way of life. But she is able to leave them only with the help of MacTavish, an Anglo-Canadian man with decidedly imperial interests, and she is able to make a new life for herself only by assimilating to Anglo-Canadian society under the insidious guidance of Tim and, especially, Reiner. To resist Ukrainian patriarchy Lilli must accept both Anglo-Canadian cultural imperialism *and* Anglo-Canadian patriarchy. In the end hers appears to be a "lose-lose" situation.

Curiously enough, *Yellow Boots* suggests that Lilli's move to the city not only does not result in the total loss of her culture (moving to the city enables Lilli to take her Ukrainian part in the city's festive multicultural hubbub), but even gives Lilli, unlike the other members of the Landash family, the potential to preserve her Ukrainian heritage. Upon returning to her home near the conclusion of the novel, she observes the changes that have taken place in the Landash household: "the phone, the radio and refrigerator. Everything [is] hygienic. One could not imagine any spirits, evil or benign living here."[50] In her first act of kindness toward Lilli, Zenobia laments the loss of the old ways:

> if I could tell you, how shameful what the girls did with those carpets, embroideries, dress up and laugh! Costumes wear out and new ones not made. Girl will not spend time to embroider when she can order from mail order catalogue, so cheap, so fine!… No more kilims on wall, all, all, taken off and instead put on wallpaper, curtains from mail order, range where was old stove, so good to bake bread![51]

Apparently—and this seems to me an unbelievable development in the story—seven years after Lilli leaves for the city, all Ukrainian customs and traditions have entirely disappeared from the Landash home, giving way to the modern, Anglo-Canadian way of life. Another inexplicable twist in the narrative is the family's sudden loving embrace of Lilli, to

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50. Ibid., 329.
51. Ibid., 331.

whom they had never before showed kindness or affection. Somehow Lilli who no longer lives in her ethnic community, speaks Ukrainian, or eats Ukrainian food and who dresses in modern "Canadian" clothes becomes the symbol of her community's cultural preservation and comforts her mother that she "has one daughter still who loves the old."[52] Lysenko's logic here anticipates discourses of multiculturalism in the sense that she presents ethnic performance, the performance of song, as a valid means for maintaining and transmitting cultural traditions. This, at least, is Glynn's and Seiler's reading of the novel: that *Yellow Boots* is the "first piece of Canadian fiction to advance the vision of a multicultural Canadian society"[53] and that, "[b]y having Lilli champion the vanishing folk culture of her people, particularly music, Lysenko works to de-colonize Ukrainian ethnicity."[54]

But a positive reading of *Yellow Boots* and its multicultural politics requires a leap of faith on the part of the reader: to accept that multiculturalism resolves the tensions between Lilli's status as a Ukrainian and a Canadian readers must overlook the irony of the novel's pat conclusion. Near the end of Lysenko's book, Zenobia gives her yellow boots to Lilli. These boots are rich in symbolic meaning because they are the very boots Zenobia wore as a girl in the Old Country. By passing them on to her daughter, Zenobia passes on the matrilineal responsibility to protect and preserve the family's traditional way of life. The boots also figure centrally in a final scene of the novel in which Lilli and Reiner at last unite. It is only when Reiner sees Lilli pull on her yellow dancing boots before her last performance in the novel that he has proof that her Ukrainian heritage is no more than a costume she will wear on stage and is ready to claim her as his wife. The price that Lilli pays for escaping her father's patriarchal home is the reduction of her ethnic heritage to fetishized performance. Over the course of the novel, Lilli negotiates herself into a corner: she escapes from under her father's patriarchal thumb (and compromises her ethnicity to do so) only to find herself under another man's thumb and isolated from her ethnic community. While Lilli's father, Anton, is able to flee from his Austrian master in the Old Country, and while his son Petey is able to find freedom and

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52. Ibid.

53. Glynn, "Introduction," xi.

54. Seiler, "Including the Female Immigrant Story," 56.

opportunity in Canada, Lilli is never without a master. Her husband-to-be, after all, is Austrian. So readers are left to wonder how far Lilli's yellow boots really take her.

Yellow Boots may suggest that multiculturalism represents a viable alternative to Anglo-Canadian cultural hegemony, but in doing so it reveals the ways in which multiculturalism is grounded in discourses of British imperialism and Lysenko's treatment of language in the novel makes this especially clear. For a book that scholars read as a testament to the beauty and vitality of Ukrainian-Canadian culture, *Yellow Boots* is surprisingly lacking in Ukrainian words and phrases, and in Ukrainian characters who speak Ukrainian or English with a Ukrainian accent. Near the beginning of the novel, during language lessons with MacTavish Lilli struggles with English grammar and pronunciation: "[m]y tongue lame like old horse," she says. "I am so stupid!… All the time, mistakes!"[55] But, determined to speak proper English, she announces her commitment to learning her new language: "all the time I will speak like this,"[56] she tells MacTavish. And for the rest of the novel she does indeed continue to "speak like this"—in impeccably grammatical English, with no trace of a Ukrainian accent. Even if we suspend our disbelief that Lilli is able to participate in Canadian society without losing touch with her Ukrainian culture, what are we to make of Lysenko's apparent desire to eradicate all traces of Ukrainianness from her heroine's voice and, more important-ly, from her own narrative voice? The medium or the language of the novel is, in a sense, the message: Lysenko's conscious motivation for writing *Yellow Boots* may have been to illustrate what Canadian society stands to gain from Ukrainians, but what she inadvertently demonstrates is how much heroine and author alike must give up in order to become Canadians. The scene in which MacTavish teaches Lilli to speak English is a crucial moment in the novel because it reveals Lysenko's underlying attitude toward her ethnic group: Ukrainian Canadians are backward and ignorant, while Anglo-Canadians are progressive and educated. Like her protagonist, Lysenko ultimately rejects her ethnic language, and by extension her ethnic culture, in order to make a successful transition to the dominant culture of Canadian society. Insofar as worlds are created through language, the world that Lysenko creates is one in which

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55. Lysenko, *Yellow Boots*, 56–7.

56. Ibid., 57.

Ukrainian-Canadian culture is erased and replaced by Anglo-Canadian culture.

In the end, the story Lysenko wants to tell in *Yellow Boots* is undermined by the ideologies and practices of assimilation that were pervasive during the first half of the twentieth century in Canada. If we are to recover *Yellow Boots* from the margins of the Canadian literary canon and incorporate it into ongoing debates and discussions about the relation between ethnic and national identity, then we need to re-examine the reasons for which Lysenko could not tell a different story. By (mis)reading the novel as an unmitigated testament to the resilience of Ukrainian culture, scholars overlook Lysenko's valuable (if unintended) commentary on the intense assimilationist pressures placed on Canadians of Ukrainian descent in the decades preceding the advent of multiculturalism. The danger of interpreting Lilli's performance of folk songs as a form of resistance to Anglo-Canadian cultural hegemony is that such an interpretation enables Canadian readers to congratulate themselves on striking a balance between unity and diversity. Given that Lilli's performances are a superficial mimicry of the rich and complex Old-World culture to which she once belonged, readers must question the underlying message of this novel: we must ask whether a Canada that accepts only remnants like folk songs and dances from non-Anglo cultures is truly multicultural.

Book Reviews

Lidia Lykhach and Mykola Kornienko. *Ukrainian Folk Icons from the Land of Shevchenko.* Kyiv: Rodovid, 2000. 231 pp.

Teodoziia Zarivna and Olha Loza, eds. *Ukrainian Antiquities in Private Collections: Folk Art of the Hutsul and Pokuttia Regions: Catalogue—Icons on Glass, Tiles, Plates, Crosses, Candelabra.* Kyiv: Rodovid, 2002. 359 pp.

Franklin A. Sciacca and William H. Noll, eds. *Ukrainian Icons 13th–18th Centuries from Private Collections.* Introduction by Oleh Sydor. Kyiv: Rodovid in association with the Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, 2003. 335 pp.

Rodovid is both an irregularly published journal and a publishing house focusing on Ukrainian folk arts widely conceived. The journal and albums published by Rodovid are lush colour productions that make exquisite artifacts and paintings, often from private collections, accessible to a wider public. Rodovid is one of the bright spots on the Ukrainian intellectual map. Its publications are not aimed in the first place at scholars, but rather at connoisseurs, *liubyteli* as the Ukrainian rather more accurately expresses it. I cannot, however, review the volumes listed above from other than a scholarly perspective, and so such criticisms as I express here are to be charged to the account of the person of the reviewer and the scholarly venue of the review; most readers, or rather viewers (for there is very little text), will find nothing but delight here.

Ukrainian Folk Icons from the Land of Shevchenko reproduces icons mainly from the nineteenth century and mainly from Cherkasy oblast. These are icons that were kept in people's homes for domestic and sacramental use. They were used at wedding ceremonies and at domestic blessings (of a son going off to the army, for example). The corner where they stood was the focal point of piety in a home. They were placed in coffins for the final journey, and some of them also protected the house from fire or healed a toothache. They had no connection with the liturgical calendar, even though the editors decided to organize the reproductions according to it. The most common icons were of the Savior (*Spas*) and the Mother of God (*Bohorodytsia*). They were painted by village craftsmen often known as *bohomazy*.

The reproductions are accompanied by an introductory text in both Ukrainian and English. The English sometimes adds some useful glosses to the Ukrainian, and even includes a song (p. 11) that is missing in the Ukrainian. On the other hand, there are errors in the translation. For instance, at one point an interviewee states, in Ukrainian or

rather *surzhyk*, that a *bohomaz* was a "mastier svoho diela." This is translated as "a real *bohomaz* had his own deal" rather than "he was a master at his trade." There are no commentaries to the individual illustrations.

As is all too typical in Ukrainian folklore studies, pre-Christian elements are exaggerated, with little (and in this case, no) concrete evidence. Drawing on the works of the late art historian Pavlo Zholtovsky, the authors of the introduction, Lidia Lykhach and Mykola Kornienko, see in Slavic iconography "the consequences of the assimilation of Christianity among populations of an ancient pagan culture" and think that "the elements such as sun, moon, and wind are transformed into Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, and the Saints" (p. 6). Such broad claims are as irrefutable as any metaphysical theory, and just as useful. Throughout the introduction, the authors like to refer to the icons as *bohy*, rendered in English as "gods." I note, however, that none of the village informants they quoted used this terminology. They referred rather to *ikony* and *obrazy*, that is, icons and images. (Incidentally, neither did the informants talk about "writing icons," as some pedants insist is the only correct formulation. Instead they spoke of the icons being painted or drawn—*maliuvav ikony, ikony rysuvav*.)

The privileging of alleged pagan elements is usually accompanied by an inadequate familiarity with the Christian tradition, and alas, this volume is no exception. The liturgical calendar for 8 September rightly has the feastday identified as the Nativity of the Mother of God in English (actually "the Virgin" in the text), but the Ukrainian text erroneously has *Vvedennia* (The Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple) (p. 24); the real Entry/*Vvedennia* also appears under its correct date, 21 November (p. 48). The image on plate 47 incorrectly identified as the Ascension is really the Resurrection (p. 72). (Curiously, in *Ukrainian Icons 13th–18th Centuries*, plates 23–6, an icon of the Ascension is misidentified as the Resurrection.) The legend to plate 116 is correct in Ukrainian: *Spas Nerukotvornyi* (The [Image of the] Savior Not Made by Human Hands) (known technically to icon scholars as the *acheiropoietos*); in English, though, it is identified as *The Transfiguration* (p. 146).

These problems notwithstanding, the publication of this collection of icons was an important scholarly event: to my knowledge, at the time of its publication, this was the first album of Ukrainian domestic icons in existence. With nearly two hundred examples reproduced in it, this book opens up a new field of study. Many of the illustrated icons come from Lidia Lykhach's personal collection, and they were brought on tour in North America around the time of the book's release.

Domestic icons are also featured in a subsequent Rodovid album, *Ukrainian Antiquities in Private Collections*, but these are icons painted on glass from the Carpathian region. Icons painted on glass have fared a little better in publication. Eight of them were reproduced in V. I. Svientsitska and V. P. Otkovych, *Ukrainske narodne maliarstvo XIII–XX stolit. Albom: Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1991). The Rodovid album reproduces 116 of them.

In addition to icons on glass, *Ukrainian Antiquities* has chapters on tiles, plates, crosses, and candelabra. There is almost no scholarly apparatus to the album—a bibliography of ten items, a glossary of 24 terms, only the briefest of essays on each type of artifact included, and no commentary to individual illustrations.

Again, the typical folkloric approach is in evidence. In the brief description of icons on glass, Vasylyna Ushak and Ivan Hrechko write: "In comparing the differences between

the church and domestic icons, we are convinced that the peasant masters interpreted biblical themes quite freely. These are original apocryphal icons, created on the basis of purely folk interpretation and perception of the saints" (p. 328). In the section on crosses, Oleksa Valko writes, of course without being able to concretize it: "The combination of pre-Christian and Christian beliefs and their equal coexistence in the ornamental tradition of religious folk art is typical of Hutsul crosses" (p. 343). And again, there is a certain shakiness when it comes to the religious side of things: thus the most famous Uniate saint, St. Josaphat, is regularly called St. Jehoshaphat. (The collection contains four icons of St. Josaphat, undoubtedly a testimony to the successful missionary work of the Basilians in the late nineteenth century.)

All the items reproduced in this album come from private collections, and one of the interesting features of the book is a statement about or from each of the collectors at the end of the text (pp. 353–7). These are fascinating glimpses into how individuals developed a collector's passion and how they made great finds. My favourite story comes from Levko Triska, on how he met fellow collectors Taras Lozynsky and Yurii Yurkevych. He had left his address with "an old lady who still had a real Hutsul stove in her cottage." When Lozynsky and Yurkevych made the rounds and approached this same lady, she told them that Triska had already offered to exchange a car for the stove. Impressed by "such an extreme manifestation of a collector's zeal," the two collectors took the address and looked Triska up in Lviv. He burst out laughing when they told him what the old lady said: she had made that up, probably in order to get more from the city boys for that stove (p. 357).

Ukrainian Icons 13th–18th Centuries is the most impressive and most scholarly of the icon volumes published to date. Two hundred thirty-five icons in private collections have been carefully photographed and beautifully reproduced, a valuable gift to those who study these icons. These are icons from churches, not domestic icons as featured in the two Rodovid volumes discussed previously. The reproductions are prefaced by a substantive, informative introduction by Oleh Sydor, who until the end of 2002 was the curator for old Ukrainian art at the National Museum in Lviv. Sydor's introduction even has footnotes (the numbering is off, but this is a minor inconvenience). Sydor explains the context of the icons and points out many individual features of them. For example, he advises the readers to compare the conventional, highly stylized mountains of some of the icons in the album with the more realistic mountains in some of the other icons (p. 18). The comparison is visually quite striking and a testimony to the evolution of icon painting in Ukrainian lands.

There are aspects of Sydor's introduction that I am less happy about, however, and these problematic aspects have been dogging icon studies in Ukraine for decades. Writing about the apostles' tier in the Church of the Dormition, Sydor says that "it is logical to assume that the apostles were painted to resemble leading members of the Lviv Brotherhood" (p. 21). He cites no evidence for this. (Sydor refers to a passage in a work by Zholtovsky, but it discusses the apostles' tier in another church in Lviv and, although it points to the naturalistic characterization of the apostles, it does not mention the Lviv Brotherhood.) The hypothesis seems to be a product of wishful thinking based on an inflated evaluation of realism. I do not think a convincing case can be made that an Orthodox iconographer of the seventeenth century would have incorporated such portraits into an iconostasis. Along with the preference for realism in the introduction, there is also

the typical preference for Western influences, for deviations from the received iconographic tradition, and for secularism, preferences codified in the writings of the leading West Ukrainian art historians of the Soviet era, Zholtovsky and Vira Svientsitska. Since the late 1980s it has become obligatory to strike the national drum as well. Sydor writes that "these works contain the Ukrainian nation's spiritual and esthetic experience in concentrated form" (p. 24). Personally, I would have preferred a more liturgical, hagiographical, and traditional iconographic context.

I repeat what I said at the outset: I cannot help looking at these three albums from the point of view of one who studies icons in a scholarly way. My arguments with the authors are intended to push things forward and not to detract from their great accomplishment in publishing these materials. I can only wish that more such work was done, and I congratulate the Rodovid collective for its spectacular contribution to the exploration of the Ukrainian cultural iceberg.

As a final note, I add that Rodovid is a consumer-friendly publishing house. It is right out on the web (www.rodovid.net), and ordering its books and journals is a simple and reliable process.

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John-Paul Himka
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Bohdan S. Kordan. *Canada and the Ukrainian Question 1939–45: A Study in Statecraft* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). xii, 258 pp.

Throughout most of the twentieth century the question of national self-determination for the Ukrainian people, the so-called "Ukrainian question", was conveniently ignored by the Western powers. Unlike central and east European governments, such as the Romanov and Habsburg empires before 1917, the Soviet, Polish, and Czechoslovak republics of the interwar period, and Stalin's post-1945 Communist empire, the Anglo-American powers had no vital interest in the existence or repression of Ukrainian national aspirations. Thus throughout most of the century these powers—London, Washington, and Ottawa—ignored the national claims of Ukrainian lobbyists in the West and left it to the various east European governments to resolve the Ukrainian question on their own.

The period of the Second World War is no exception to this pattern and the foreign policy of the Dominion of Canada from 1939 to 1945 differed only in some details from the policies followed in London and Washington. Most of these differences reflected the fact that Canada was home to a relatively large number of Ukrainian immigrants from eastern Europe and the Canadian government was compelled to pay some attention to the electoral power of this group. Thus the story told by the University of Saskatchewan's Professor Bohdan Kordan in his *Canada and the Ukrainian Question 1939–45* revolves around the justifications that Canadian government officials gave for ignoring the appeals of their Ukrainian constituents and sweeping the vexatious Ukrainian question under the rug.

The justifications evolved as the war progressed. Ottawa began with a general reluctance to get involved in any European disputes whatsoever. Then, from 1939 to 1941, that is, during the period of Nazi German and Communist Russian collaboration under the

terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact, Canadian war aims and foreign policy revolved around the effort to restore the *status quo ante,* which, in effect, denied the Ukrainians a right to their own independent state. This policy was tempered somewhat by Prime Minister Mackenzie King's stated support for freedom at home and abroad and then by Canada's official support for the Atlantic Charter (August, 1941), which made some reference to national self-determination; but the *status quo ante* policy was never really questioned in practice.

It was this first phase of the war that seemed to open the widest opportunities for Ukrainian national lobbyists in the West. During this period, the so-called nationalists felt free to criticize Soviet nationality policy, pointing to the co-operation between Germany and Russia. In Canada, the ascendancy of the Ukrainian nationalists over the local Ukrainian pro-Communist left was underlined by the internment of many Communist leaders and the confiscation of their meeting halls, some of which were even sold to the nationalists. Moreover, after the fall of France in the spring of 1940, Canada with its large Ukrainian population became Britain's senior ally, and some Canadian officials began to think that the opinions of Canada's Ukrainians should be taken into account. However, this never actually reached the point of affecting Canada's foreign policy.

Germany's surprise attack on the USSR changed the justifications for ignoring the Ukrainian question. The Soviet Union now replaced Canada as Britain's senior ally and criticism of the Soviet government became difficult. The nationalist opportunity had passed. Canadian Communists were now supporting the war, and their leaders were eventually released and their halls returned to them. Moreover, by 1943, when it became clear that the USSR was in the ascendancy, the desire to placate Stalin and rearrange the European order to avoid conflict with him began to replace the old *status quo ante* policy. The Ukrainian question remained buried under the weight of the Grand Alliance's "realism."

However, within the Canadian government itself and with regard to Canadian internal policies, Ukrainian national claims were not entirely ignored. As early as 1940 the government intervened in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian community to get united support for the war effort. This led to the establishment of the umbrella Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Moreover, after November 1941, a Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship was formed and began to oversee a new Nationalities Branch of the Department of National War Services. This small branch (with only two full-time employees) was more sensitive than other branches of government, especially the Department of External Affairs, to Ukrainian national claims. The major figure of the Nationalities Branch, the enigmatic Englishman, Tracy Philipps, actually defended Ukrainian claims against the bureaucratic hostility of External Affairs, which in turn, tried to have the Nationalities Branch dissolved and Philipps fired. Philipps was eventually let go, but the Nationalities Branch was never completely dissolved. In altered form it survived the war and went on to become a predecessor of the 1970s Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretariat of State. Kordan devotes much space to the activities and opinions of Philipps and it is clear that he sympathizes with Philipps's sensitive handling of Ukrainian affairs. The activities and opinions of Philipps's close colleague at the Branch, Dr Vladimir Kaye-Kisilevsky (a.k.a. Kysilewsky), are given less attention but are equally important, indeed, perhaps even more important for an understanding of the predicament of Ukrainian Canadians during the war. It should be underlined, however, that neither Philipps nor Kaye ever had any success in influencing Canadian foreign

policy. Their influence was limited to Canadian government policy toward the Ukrainian minority within the Dominion.

Kordan's book tells this story in all its details. It is based on many years of study and a wealth of archival sources. The National Archives of Canada are, of course, the principal repository consulted, but Kordan also used materials from London, Washington, and even Moscow. His research is up to date and thorough.

However, the book does have some serious problems. These have to do primarily with Kordan's peculiar "political science" methodology and style. Instead of telling his story simply and straightforwardly, the author seems to want to paint as complex a picture of Canadian government policies as he can. The result is a plethora of analytical digressions on various minor government memos and bureaucratic notes that add very little to the overall picture. As a result, the book does not read very well. Moreover, since Kordan pretty much ignores the ethnic press and confines himself more or less to government reports, police reports, and formal memoranda presented to the government by various Ukrainian organizations and individuals, his entire presentation gives a very lopsided view of the Ukrainian-Canadian community—the federal bureaucracy's view. Of course, the author set this as his main task (for which, perhaps, he cannot be faulted), but even the elaboration of Ottawa's attitudes should have been presented against a more detailed background of how Ukrainian Canadians themselves thought about their community and its international goals. Bureaucratic history has its merits, but it is not the whole story, and it is not everyone's cup of tea.

On the technical side, Kordan's notes seem to be professional and up to date. The variety of archives cited is quite impressive, in spite of the bias in favour of minor government notes and memos. However, it is hard to understand why there is no bibliography, or, better yet, bibliographical essay evaluating the various archival sources and published works. Even a few brief words on the subject would have been much appreciated.

In spite of these infelicities, Kordan has given us a substantial book, one that is in the same class as other recent literature on the Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War. The next step, of course, is to compare Canadian government policy toward the Ukrainians with that toward the Germans, Poles, Italians, Chinese, Japanese, Mennonites, and others. But that, of course, is another story.

<div style="text-align: right">Thomas M. Prymak
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Bohdan S. Kordan. *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada during the Great War*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002. xxviii, 202 pp.
Bohdan S. Kordan and Craig Mahovsky. *A Bare and Impolitic Right: Internment and Ukrainian-Canadian Redress*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004. x, 96 pp.

Ninety years after the outbreak of the Great War, Canadians are still endeavouring to understand fully the events that transpired during the country's first national internment

operations. Perhaps more importantly, they are also trying to come to some sort of reconciliation with the communities affected by those events.

During the war approximately eight thousand unnaturalized immigrants and civilian noncombatants from the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, Germany and other countries with which the British Commonwealth was at war were interned in Canada. Ukrainian immigrants formed the largest group of those confined within a system of twenty-four receiving stations and internment camps.

In *Enemy Aliens* University of Saskatchewan political science professor Bohdan S. Kordan explores several issues related to the internment of civilians in Canada between 1914 and 1920. Before considering the status of enemy aliens during wartime in general and in Canada specifically, he examines the nature of Canadian society and nation building at the start of the twentieth century. Placing Canada's policy and practice of internment within a comparative framework, he discusses the obligations and responsibilities of governments towards their citizens and other residents in times of national crisis, the Canadian government's treatment of civilians as prisoners of war during the war, and the role of internment within the development of the national-parks network in the Canadian Rockies. He concludes by outlining the ongoing debate in Canada over war, patriotism, and internment.

Kordan stresses that a complete assessment of Canada's wartime history is needed and that it should go beyond stories of heroic deeds and personal sacrifice to look at the choices made by the Canadian government on the home front that placed certain segments of the population outside the national project and "not quite within the protection of the law" (p. xxvi). The rights and privileges of thousands of recently arrived immigrants were in a "metaphorical sense sacrificed … for the sake of public order and national solidarity" (p. 7). While only a small number of people were actually interned, the program was part of a much broader policy of social control. Taken together with registration and reporting requirements, the threat of arbitrary internment was an "effective, if blunt, instrument in ensuring social compliance and political calm" (p. 139).

This study systematically examines the distinctive attributes of Canada's internment operations within the context of international law and practice pertaining to enemy aliens and prisoners of war. Kordan argues that Canada's record did not measure up not only to today's notions of civil rights but also to the clearly articulated standards of the day. By classifying civilian noncombatants, often whose only transgression was to be unemployed, as prisoners of war the government applied the punitive implications of this designation and ignored the rights of prisoners under the Hague Convention. He argues that Canada was unique in exploiting a marginalized segment of society. Under its "policy of systematic exploitation" (p. 60) internees were compelled to labour for the state often under extreme conditions prejudicial to their health for remuneration that was a fraction of the market rate. They were also subject to corporal punishment and the withholding of food, and forced to work while sick. All these practices were proscribed by international conventions.

Although the book covers the entire internment experience across Canada, it focuses in greater detail on the experiences of those put to work in the national parks system that was developed in the Canadian Rockies.

Kordan's six broad thematic chapters are enriched with a selection of three dozen primary documents and first-person accounts gleaned from the press, over four dozen

archival photographs, and a reference map outlining the location of internment camps in the Canadian Rockies. These documents and images convey the searing human dimension of the internment experience with graphic effect. These accounts and images show the profound impact of internment.

There is little to complain of in this volume, although some minor comments are warranted. The reproduction of an otherwise excellent reference map is so fuzzy as to make several of the place names and features nearly illegible. The rail line connecting Lethbridge via the Crow's Nest Pass to Fernie and Morrissey is missing. Considering that many Ukrainian homesteaders in Canada of necessity sought seasonal work in industry and that tens of thousands of Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada not to settle the land but rather to work as labourers, there is little point in identifying the internees as homesteaders (pp. 36, 45). The suggestion (p. xxviii) that there was a universal prohibition against photographing internment operations is neither supported with documentation nor borne out by the evidence. Although there were individual cases, such as the short-lived Jasper Camp, where there was such a prohibition, the sheer volume of images of camps and camp residents that have surfaced in personal and archival collections belies any notion that photographing was generally forbidden.

In *A Bare and Impolitic Right* Kordan partners with human-rights expert and policy analyst Craig Mahovsky to examine the issue of Ukrainian-Canadian redress stemming from the internment and forced labour of civilian Ukrainian immigrants during the Great War. A brief review of the history of internment is placed within a broader discussion of Canadian and international law and the obligations of belligerents towards civilians and prisoners of war during times of conflict. Kordan and Mahovsky emphasize that Canadian policy was characterized by "the arbitrary, unwarranted, and heavy-handed use of state power against a minority in apparent contradiction with democratic practice and the rule of law" (p. 4). The actions of the government during this period failed to meet internationally recognized standards and became the source of lasting grievance.

The authors go on to examine in detail the efforts of the Ukrainian community during the 1980s and 1990s to obtain some measure of redress and justice from the Canadian government. They draw insightful parallels from the manner in which similar Japanese-Canadian grievances were resolved and argue that the government and Ukrainian-Canadian community have a shared responsibility to engage in open and consensual dialogue with the aim of identifying an appropriate form of symbolic redress, "one that would satisfy the community, benefit the country, yet hallow the memory of those wronged" (p. 62).

These two volumes constitute a lucid and eloquent examination of a difficult and unresolved chapter in Canadian history. Together they form a cornerstone in the growing scholarship on the topic of Canada's internment operations during the Great War and make a valuable contribution to the ongoing discourse on the role of the state in a law-based society.

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Lubomyr Y. Luciuk. *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada and the Migration of Memory*. Foreword by Norman Davies. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. xxviii, 576 pp.

This is probably one of the more significant works to emerge on a Ukrainian-Canadian theme for some time. It is easily the most ambitious scholarly undertaking by the author, a well-known figure who has long been engaged in Ukrainian-Canadian studies and active on the issue of redress for the internment of Ukrainians during the First World War and matters related to indiscriminate handling of the war-crimes issue in Canada. More significantly, the book presents an opportunity for him to present *his own* extended account of the history of Ukrainians in Canada: Luciuk's earlier works in the field have generally been co-edited collections of documents or essays, others' memoirs, and a useful historical atlas. *Searching for Place* has received generally positive reviews and many glowing word-of-mouth assessments, and it has done well commercially. It seems to have struck a genuine chord of recognition among many of its readers.

The book certainly has much to commend it, and it is likely to serve as a basic source book on the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada for some time to come. All the same, *Searching for Place* is something of a disappointment, for it falls short of its potential.

The book provides a fairly solid factual account of Ukrainian-Canadian efforts to "rescue" their Old-Country brethren who had been displaced by the cataclysmic events of the Second World War. Led (on and off) by the plucky Gordon Bohdan Panchuk, a small group of Canadian military personnel successfully managed to arrange for the emigration of a significant number of Ukrainians, both Polish and Soviet nationals, to the West in the face of a strong campaign for their repatriation. This episode is deservedly given a thorough treatment. Then the book examines the earliest years of the so-called Ukrainian DP (displaced persons) immigration to Canada—a generally neglected aspect of history.

The story would have benefited from more perspective and relevant background. A limited perspective is virtually built into the structure of the book. *Searching for Place* is divided into short segments, which pick up on a phrase or sentence—commonly presented as a sub-heading—used to establish and emphasize a point. As a literary device, these "clips" are quite effective, but as a means of expounding upon or explaining broader forces or processes at play, they leave much to be desired. But they dovetail well with a certain judgemental attitude that is evident in the book: those who doubt, oppose, or (knowingly or unwittingly) obstruct the proverbial Ukrainian cause are invariably presented as pencil-necks, nitwits, or in some way evil. Their specific motivations or circumstances are usually not examined. This may play well with a partisan audience, but it does not really assist us in understanding the past.

The background context provided in the book's early chapters is a bit puzzling. The chapter dealing with the Ukrainian community's development in the pioneer era in Canada turns into a discussion of the internment and (mis)treatment of Ukrainians during the First World War. The following chapter dealing with the community in the interwar era ends up focusing at length on state surveillance of the community's activities. While internment and the questioned loyalty that led to scrutiny by security forces are interesting and legitimate topics, they are not necessarily the overarching themes of the Ukrainian-

Canadian story in their respective periods. That said, Luciuk's coverage of the events leading to the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee does provide a useful sketch of a key development.

Of greater concern is the lack of background about the "radical nationalist" DP immigrants. While the author devotes some attention to events in Ukraine in the first part of the twentieth century, he says little to explain *who* these people were and *what* made them different from their New-World brethren. This would have required an examination of the civic and political culture of interwar Western Ukraine and a serious look at the phenomenon of Ukrainian integral nationalism. The latter omission, in particular, is egregious. Luciuk provides a useful little sketch of DP-camp life and its impact on the mindset of the inhabitants, which explains to some extent why the new immigrants were such prickly creatures as far as "Canadian" Ukrainians were concerned. But it is far from the whole story.

Once the DPs have arrived in Canada, Luciuk's account focuses largely on the establishment and activities of the organizational network of the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (a.k.a. Banderites), including its League for the Liberation of Ukraine and newspaper *Homin Ukrainy*, as well as the Banderites' sundry battles with the "Canadians." He examines and explains various issues the DPs faced in Canada reasonably well. However, non-Banderite DPs are afforded the most nominal treatment (approximately one page of text, pp. 224–5), as if they were utterly insignificant. Without a doubt Luciuk is well aware that this was hardly the case, but, as it stands, the book by and large erroneously equates DP with Banderite. The author's sympathies with the Banderites occasionally become a bit too obvious, and he sometimes seems dismissive of the "Canadians" as "pretenders" (as far as Ukrainian patriotism is concern) in a manner reminiscent of the Banderites upon arrival in Canada.

The footnotes in *Searching for Place* add 211 pages to the 280 pages of text proper. They are a grab bag of source citation, exposition, excursus (footnotes 59 and 60 provide a full five pages of biographical information about Tracey Phillips, the British operative central to the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940), and arguments "in defense of the Ukrainian cause" (picking up on issues Luciuk has pursued in the course of his involvement with the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association). Many are quite interesting in their own right. However, many of them are exceedingly difficult to read in tandem with the main narrative because of their length and tangential nature.

Searching for Place is not a dispassionate treatise, but a personal vision. Ultimately its positive aspects far outweigh its shortcomings. Nevertheless, in paying what amounts to a homage to his forebears and providing a somewhat mythologized version of the DP story, the author falls short of what he could have done with the impressive array of source material under his command. Luciuk should be commended for taking us on this journey through time and place. It will most certainly advance the process of writing a definitive history of the Ukrainian DP immigration in Canada.

Andrij Makuch
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Alena Morávková. *Děti stepní Hellady. Pražská škola ukrajinských emigrantských básníků*. Prague: Česká koordinační rada Společnosti přátel národů východu, 2001. 96 pp.

Most literary scholars who study the development of Ukrainian literature agree that Ukrainian poetry in the interwar period reached its artistic and intellectual zenith in the works of émigré writers. During that time many Ukrainian refugees settled in Czechoslovakia, where they founded many scientific, cultural, and educational institutions such as the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute, the Ukrainian Studio of Plastic Arts, and the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Poděbrady. Both Oleksander Oles and Volodymyr Vynnychenko lived in Czechoslovakia for a time, and a group of accomplished poets who became known as the Prague School of Ukrainian Poets were active in the capital. The group was comprised of like-minded people, most of whom had taken part in the armed struggle for Ukrainian independence. Its most important members were Iurii Darahan, Andrii Harasevych, Maksym Hryva (Zahryvny), Ivan Irliavsky, Ivan Kolos, Oksana Liaturynska, Ievhen Malaniuk, Halia Mazurenko, Leonid Mosendz, Oleh Olzhych, Oles Stefanovych, and Olena Teliha. Some literary scholars also include the neoclassicist Iurii Klen in this group, since he lived in Prague for a time and had a significant influence on the younger generation. Morávková's book is devoted to these writers. It consists of an introduction, literary biographies of the individual writers, samples of their poetry in translation, and three articles.

Dr. Alena Moravkova is one of the best translators of Ukrainian literature in the Czech Republic. For her translations she always uses the Ukrainian original, not a Russian translation as is often the practice in Central Europe. She has translated M. Kotsiubynsky, P. Zahrebelny, O. Honchar, Iu. Ianovsky, O. Dovzhenko, H. Tiutiunnyk, Ie. Hutsalo, M. Vinhranovsky, V. Drozd, I. Mykytenko, M. Kulish, and others. Although retired, she still lectures at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University and at the Faculty of Theatre of the Academy of Music and the Performing Arts. She is the author of many reviews of Ukrainian publications, introductions to and translations of Ukrainian literature, and articles on Ukrainian drama in the baroque period, the plays of M. Kulish, drama in the 1920s and 1930s, and the members of the Bu-Ba-Bu group of writers. In the last few years she has concentrated on the Ukrainian literary emigration in Czechoslovakia. She has written *Pražská ukrajinská poetika* (Prague 2001) and is working on the selected poems of Ievhen Malaniuk.

Published on the tenth anniversary of Ukraine's independence, *Děti stepní Hellady* raises issues that could not be discussed under the Communist regime. Hence, for the Czech reading public Morávková's work is a true revelation.

The introduction is rich in information about Ukrainian émigré life. Prague figures as the centre of activity for Ukrainian intellectuals who were forced to flee their homeland. The author concentrates on the work of Ukrainian institutions and associations in Czechoslovakia, which was possible thanks to the support of President T. G. Masaryk. She summarizes the activities of émigré writers, concisely characterizes the representatives of the Prague School of Poets, and concludes that Czechoslovakia, and in particular, Prague "opened the door for the Ukrainian literary immigration to the rest of the world and made it possible to preserve the 'continuity of brains,' which was important for the future of Ukraine."

Ukrainian writers found themselves in a society that was rich in writers. There were ample opportunities for cooperation between representatives of the two nations. But Ukrainian writers, unlike scholars, did not interact with their Czech colleagues, although Czech motifs frequently appeared in their works. As a result, except for Malaniuk, there were no mutual influences or creative contacts between Czech and Ukrainian writers, who formed a closed group. As Morávková points out, this was the reason why the protest against the 1932–33 famine in Ukraine by the Association of Ukrainian Journalists and Writers was not supported as it should have been by the Czech cultural community.

The bulk of the book consists of literary portraits of the thirteen poets I have mentioned, who represent the Prague School of Ukrainian Poets. The portraits include basic biographical information, the fate of the authors in emigration, and a general outline of their poetic legacy. Morávková is familiar with the published works of the poets and makes use of all the information available today. She refers not only to the poets' works from the pre-emigration period but also to those that appeared when the authors lived in the Czech and, in exceptional cases, the Slovak (Mosendz, for example) milieux. The author also mentions works of the Prague group that were published in other countries in the second half of the twentieth century. This applies not only to authors who left Czechoslovakia for western Europe, the United States, and Canada, but also to those who perished tragically during the Second World War.

Morávková's literary portraits include not only the authors' original works but also their Czech translations, which were done by Marie Ňachajová, Petr Borkovec, Václav Daněk, and Tomáš Vašut. She selects poems that are either typical of a given author or represent his or her connection with the Czech milieu. The samples are meant to illustrate Morávková's assessment of the poets' legacies. Most of the examples are quoted in two languages, but some are given only in Czech translation.

The second part of the book consists of three essays in which Morávková analyzes and appraises in more detail the works of Iurii Klen, Ievhen Malaniuk, and Oleh Olzhych. She concentrates on the sources of the poets' works, their various genres, and their philosophical foundations. Her conclusions are supported by a list of scholarly literature that was published in Ukraine and the United States.

This is the first book written in Czech on Ukrainian émigré poets connected with Czechoslovakia. It includes abstracts in both English and Ukrainian and is illustrated with portraits of the individual authors, samples of their manuscripts, and photographs of rare publications of their works. Morávková's annotations explaining unknown or little-known facts about Ukrainian life are very helpful. She uses only verified data and adds a question mark to uncorroborated statements. For example, she marks 1998, the assumed death date of Halia Mazurenko, with a question mark. The latest research by the Kyiv-based literary scholar Nadiia Myronets has established that the poetess died in 2000.

The works of the Prague School include lyrical poetry on intimate personal and social themes. They interweave biblical with ancient motifs and heroic with apocalyptic themes. The members of the group were united by a common feeling of nostalgia for their lost fatherland—the "Steppe Hellas." The book under review is an unusual publication, which greatly expands the Czech reader's knowledge of Ukrainian culture.

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Iurii Mytsyk, comp. *Ukrainskyi holokost, 1932–1933: Svidchennia tykh, khto vyzhyv.* Kyiv: KM Akademiia, 2003. 296 pp.

In the late 1980s when the general political atmosphere in the Soviet Union had changed, two Ukrainian journalists decided to collect written and oral testimonies from the last survivors of the 1932–33 famine. Thanks to their pioneering work, in 1991 Ukrainian readers became acquainted for the first time with impressive first-hand evidence on their country's major historical tragedy. One of the two researchers, Volodymyr Maniak, died in a car accident in June 1992; the other, his wife Lidiia Kovalenko, died a few months later.

In 1991 Iurii A. Mytsyk, a lecturer at the State University of Dnipropetrovsk, decided to continue the work of collecting peasant memoirs and testimonies. Many of his students, young historians and philologists, travelled throughout the countryside of the Dnipropetrovsk region and the neighbouring regions with a set of questions old people were requested to answer. In this way, Mytsyk could get important first-hand information about the famine in those territories. In 1996 he moved permanently to Kyiv, where he became a tenured professor of history at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. This made it possible for him to continue famine research with his new students. They collected testimonies from the surviving eyewitnesses and victims of the famine in the Kyiv, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, and other regions.

In the preface to this book, which presents over 200 testimonies, Mytsyk explains how he directed the work of his students, who went enthusiastically to the villages to interview survivors of the famine-genocide. The Soviet past still weighs on the mind of rural inhabitants: some interviewees did not want to have their name mentioned in the report. Because of old age some respondents who had suffered terribly from both the 1932–33 and the 1946–47 famines tended to confuse the two events and made other understandable mistakes. But they remembered very well many details of the terrible experience they had gone through. Some interviewees were inclined to give many details not only about the famine but also about the history of their family and village. Professor Mytsyk decided to omit these and similar digressions from the main subject. It seems to me that he was too strict: first. people who had suffered so much and had been oppressed by party and state officials for so long have the right to give a detailed account of their experience and, secondly, their stories, albeit confused and disconnected, can give us much information about rural life and mentality. I believe that we would have had a better picture of peasant life in Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, had the compiler published at least a limited selection of full testimonies.

A few pages of Mytsyk's introduction are devoted to some major historical questions such as the human costs of the 1932–33 famine and the origins of the Communist Party decisions that led to the most terrible demographic catastrophe in Ukrainian history. As we know, the first question is very controversial. Nevertheless, Mytsyk is convinced that the total number of victims of the 1932–33 holocaust amounts to between nine and fourteen million (p. 16). Indeed, we can find such astronomical numbers in many Ukrainian publications. The historical truth is quite different, as Professor Stanislav V. Kulchytsky, one of the most distinguished Ukrainian historians, has recently shown in a scholarly study that is a milestone in the literature on the subject: the possible number of deaths from famine in 1932–33 lies between three and 4.5 million (*Demohrafichni*

naslidky holodomoru 1933 r. v Ukraini [Kyiv: Instytut istoriii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2003], 52–3). The real tragedy of the Ukrainian people in 1932–33 was so horrific that there is no need to exaggerate it.

As to the aims pursued by the Soviet leadership in organizing the famine, Mytsyk is inclined to accept the prevailing opinion among Ukrainian patriots at home and abroad that it was a genocide, that is, a deliberate attempt to destroy the Ukrainian people physically and morally. Indeed this was the main result of the famine, but there is no evidence that Stalin intentionally organized the famine in order to exhaust the Ukrainian nation. All we can say is that the Bolshevik leadership waged a merciless war on the rebellious peasants all over the Soviet Union and primarily in Ukraine, and at the same time he cruelly repressed the patriotic intelligentsia in many republics of the USSR, including Ukraine. Although a few historians continue to deny the intentional character of the famine, most serious scholars know that there is no other explanation for the terrible losses. We know much about Ukraine's historic tragedy thanks to the countless publications (studies and documents) that have appeared in the last fifteen years. However, the detailed reconstruction of the facts, based on recent archival evidence, has not put an end to the dispute about the purpose of the genocide. That millions of Ukrainian peasants were starved to death is not in dispute. But, to put the question in Alec Nove's words, "did they die because they were peasants, or because they were Ukrainians?" (Review of Robert Conquest's *The Harvest of Sorrow*, in *The New Republic*, 3 November 1986, p. 37). There is no simple answer.

The instructive and moving recollections collected by Mytsyk in this book contain valuable information about the 1932–33 terror-famine. A translation into English would make it possible for many Western readers who have only a vague idea of it to become directly acquainted with the Calvary experienced by the Ukrainian peasantry in 1932–33. In view of the noble and useful project he has completed we should forgive Mytsyk his somewhat inadequate commentary on the general historical framework of the testimonies.

Ettore Cinnella
University of Pisa

Vic Satzewich. *The Ukrainian Diaspora*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002. xii, 271 pp.

Ukraine's independence of 1991 triggered numerous revaluations of the relationship between Ukraine and Ukrainian ethnic communities in the world. Among the latter it also set off a new debate on the question: what is the purpose of the Ukrainian diaspora. Satzewich's monograph, published in Routledge's Global Diasporas Series, continues this debate, raising it to a new theoretical level. While dealing with Ukrainian diaspora, the monograph also seeks to contribute to the ongoing discussion in the new burgeoning field of diaspora studies.

A sociologist by training and a well-published scholar of Canadian ethnic studies, Satzewich fully utilizes his academic expertise in this project. In his book he assumes a situational perspective on ethnicity, regarding it as fluid and subject to the agency of people

and communities. This view informs his approach to the construction of the Ukrainian diaspora. Satzewich's diaspora is above all a political construct and he reminds us, as he pieces together the numerous details of its historical development, that the idea of homogeneity, usually implied when one thinks of diasporas, does not work in the Ukrainian case.

In chapter one Satzewich introduces the reader to the debates in diaspora studies on the nature of the socio-cultural phenomenon of diaspora and defines his own perspective on the subject. Agreeing with Anthias that "the notion of diaspora tends to evoke the homeland as the essential ethnicity of individuals and collectivities" (p. 16), he points out that people's identities may still reflect the kind of the society a group has been living in, rather than a basic and primordial ethnic attachment to an ancestral homeland. Accepting Cohen's classification of diasporas, the author attempts to classify the Ukrainian diaspora but warns the reader against oversimplification for there is a vast diversity of diaspora experiences within that diaspora. Adopting Gabaccia's perspective on the Italian diaspora(s), Satzewich proposes to look at the Ukrainian diaspora not as one but as many diasporas (p. 18).

Starting from there, the book examines the formation and evolution of the Ukrainian diaspora from the end of the nineteenth to the end of the twentieth centuries. The historical data on which the discussion is based comes mostly from the United States and Canada. The material is presented according to the well-established chronological schema: the early years (1890–1914) and the formation of the Ukrainian identity, the interwar period (1914–39) and the establishment of socialist and nationalist cleavages in the community, the post-Second World War period and DP immigration and community organization, and Ukraine's independence and new challenges to the diaspora. On the first three periods Satzewich largely follows the ideas previously laid out by scholars in other disciplines, especially by Ukrainian-Canadian historians.

What distinguishes this publication from other works on the history of individual Ukrainian ethnic communities is its combined sociological and diaspora-studies perspective on their historical dynamics. Thus, when Satzewich outlines the complicated story of the interwar community organization and the rise of the two different political orientations within, presumably, one diaspora, he argues that there are, in fact, two diasporas here, the nationalist and the socialist one. They related very differently to Ukraine and, consequently, developed two distinct mythologies of themselves and their homeland. Secondly, the author gives a "sociological explanation" of the proclivity of Ukrainians to set up numerous organizations in the diaspora. Since Ukrainians could not participate in governing their own state in the homeland, they expended their energy on setting up civil-society institutions in the diaspora. Another sociological tool, the concept of institutional completeness, is used to explain why the Ukrainian diaspora remains divided. Thirdly, at different junctures of his narrative, Satzewich returns to Cohen's typology of diasporas and tries to apply it to Ukrainians in Canada and the United States. He argues that the Ukrainian diaspora, especially after the Second World War, can be regarded as a victim diaspora (Cohen's term) that developed a strong sense of victimization, especially in connection with the allegation of Ukrainian anti-Semitism and the West's indifference to the mass man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1932–33.

Another question that distinguishes this book from other publications in the field of Ukrainian-Canadian or Ukrainian-American studies is the question of the return movement to the homeland. Satzewich considers, however briefly, two cases. One took place in the

1920s–1930s when Canadian Ukrainian returnee communes were set up in Ukraine, and another in the post-Soviet period when Ukrainyian-Canadian professionals resettled in Ukraine to participate in its national revival. There has been little research on this subject and further studies would be welcome.

Altogether the monograph is a fine contribution to the existing scholarship on Ukrainian community development in North America and, above all, to the growing academic field of diaspora studies, which has not yet seen a systematic examination of the formation and development of global Ukrainian culture. Although it contains little new historical material (on the post-independence diaspora and diaspora resettlement to Ukraine), the book analyzes the history of Ukrainians in North America in a new theoretical way and gives the reader an understanding of the mechanisms of the general socio-cultural phenomenon of diaspora. There are some minor spelling errors in transliterated names (for example, Woy(*c*)enko, pp. 72, 257; Ukrain(*sk*)a, p. 90; and Trans(*d*)nistria, p. 91). The monograph deserves to be put on the reading lists of courses in transnational and diaspora studies as well as of courses on Ukrainian ethnic communities in North America.

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Sonia Mycak, ed. I'm Ukrainian, mate!: New Australian Generation of Poets. Kyiv: Alternativy, 2000. 143 pp.

With *I'm Ukrainian, mate!*, Australian literary scholar Sonia Mycak brings together selections of poetry by five Ukrainian-Australian writers: some (Myron Lysenko, John Hughes, Peter Skrzynecki) are well-established in their careers, having had their work published in books, anthologies, and literary journals; others (Iryna Romanowski, Nadia Tkaczynski) make their debut in Mycak's collection. All, however, share the experience of displacement and dislocation as children of DPs who immigrated to Australia in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Mycak's aim—made explicit not only in the title of the collection but also in her introduction—is to bring attention to the "real issues" that face Australian writers of U-krainian descent, issues related, presumably, to the reconciliation of Ukrainian and Australian identity. Taking as her point of departure a highly-publicized scandal that "shook the Australian literary and cultural establishment" in the mid-1990s (the publication of Helen Darville's novel, *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, under the fictitious name of Helen Demidenko), Mycak laments the fact that, in the "voluminous amount of paper and ink spent in public and scholarly discussion" of the hoax, "never had anyone referred to the writing of Ukrainian-Australians or the literary culture of the Ukrainian-Australian community." Her goal, then, is to retrieve Ukrainian-Australian writing from the margins of the Australian literary canon. Yet, as she makes clear in her introductory comments, this particular collection of poetry is "not addressed solely to an Australian-Ukrainian community or Ukrainian diaspora audience." Published in Kyiv, *I'm Ukrainian, mate!* is

meant, in part, to effect cultural dialogue and exchange by introducing Ukrainian readers to Ukrainian-Australian poets.

The real treasures in this collection are Myron Lysenko and Peter Skrzynecki, who grapple in many of their poems with the memory of forced dispersal, migrant camps, as well as lost (and found) ties to their ethnic homeland and cultural roots. These poets' poignant, finely-wrought lyric poems capture the migrant's deep sense of loss and longing for "home." In "My Daughter Learns Ukrainian," for example, Skrzynecki, watching his mother and his daughter communicate through a language that he cannot speak, remains in the background. "If I could," says the poet, "I would break the rocks of insecurity / that confine my silence, / free myself from weeds / that choke and suffocate / with a gravel dryness"—but he cannot. Lysenko writes about the difficulties he encountered as a child, trying to make sense of the "divisions of [his] life"; struggling with the "language and culture / of a land [he] had never seen / but was defensively proud of"; witnessing the anglicization of names ("[o]ur names are softer," he writes, "in the Ukrainian language / and they soften the words / around them"). In the poem from which the collection takes its title, Lysenko, in his characteristically straight-forward, no-nonsense voice, summarizes the dilemma of the Australian-Ukrainian: "I'm Ukrainian—always was and will be. / Even though I've forgotten much of the language / even though I'll probably never travel there / even though I've forgotten the dances / and I mumble through words in the songs. / No matter how Australian I sound and look—I'm Ukrainian, mate."

For readers of Ukrainian descent, Lysenko's and Skrzynecki's poems will strike an intensely personal chord. The same readers, however, may be disappointed by the major portion of the book that does not deal with the fraught emotional terrain of hyphenated subjectivity. Indeed, what may be perceived as the strength of this collection—the "broad range of themes" explored by the poets—is, to my mind, its fundamental weakness. Ethnicity as a theme appears only fleetingly in poems by Nadia Tkaczynski (many of which are focused on her experiences as a mother) and Iryna Romanowski (most of which are esoteric musings on relationships). Stylistically, too, neither Tkaczynski's nor Romanowski's poems exhibit uniquely ethnic (and even poetic) sensibilities. John Hughes' contribution (a single, untitled, long poem), although arguably the most assured piece in the book, has no bearing at all on the issue of Ukrainianness.

I do not mean to criticize Mycak's decision to include poems that do not address "issues of cultural difference and growing up in Australia as a person of Ukrainian descent": I mean, rather, to highlight a serious problem that plagues all ethnic minority writers and literary scholars. How do we attend to cultural difference without "pigeon-holing" ourselves as individuals whose interests are confined to ethnic experience? Must ethnic writers devote themselves to "ethnic" themes? The question haunting this collection, and indeed others like it (for example, *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada Since the Second World War*, ed. Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy [1987]; and *Two Lands, New Visions: Stories From Canada and Ukraine*, ed. Janice Kulyk Keefer and Solomea Pavlychko, [1998]) is how we define diasporic Ukrainian writers: is genealogy sufficient, or do we also require these writers to engage with the cultural, political, psychological, and emotional implications of their genealogy? Perhaps the most valuable aspect of *I'm Ukrainian, mate!* is that it reanimates this debate.

Lisa Grekul
University of British Columbia

Stepan Kacharaba. *Emihratsiia z Zakhidnoi Ukrainy (1919–1939).*
Lviv: Lvivskyi natsionalnyi universytet im. Ivana Franka, 2003. 415
pp.

Since the celebration of the centenary of Ukrainians in Canada, local scholars have
increasingly turned their attention to the topic of Ukrainians in Canada in the interwar
period. In the early 1990s, for example, this journal published a special issue (vol. 16,
nos. 1-2, Summer–Winter 1991) on Ukrainians in Canada that focused on the interwar
period. The Ukrainian-Canadian Program at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
is preparing a second volume of a planned three-volume interpretive history of Ukrainians
in Canada. The first volume, published in 1991, covers the 1891–1924 period; the second
will cover the years from 1924 to 1947.

For this reason the book by Stepan Kacharaba, a historian in the Department of
Local Historical Studies at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, is timely.
Specialists will find a lot of interesting information in it. The study comprises six
chapters. The first outlines the socio-economic conditions in Western Ukraine and, more
precisely, in the voivodeships of Polissia, Volhynia, Lviv, Stanyslaviv, and Ternopil in
the interwar period. One of the topics discussed is the role of shipping lines and their
agents in the immigration movement. The second chapter deals with Polish emigration
policy and non-governmental emigration aid societies. The next two chapters treat the
subject of emigration to North America and South America, respectively. The fifth
chapter is devoted to the subject of Jewish emigration from Western Ukraine to Palestine,
and the sixth, to emigration to countries in western Europe.

Kacharaba is familiar with the secondary literature, including Polish- and Russian-
language sources on the subject of emigration, but what is particularly impressive about
his research is the use of primary sources. He has drawn on material from the Ivano-
Frankivsk, Lviv, and Ternopil, Volyn, and Rivne oblast archives, the Central State
Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, and similar repositories in Belarus and Poland.
Although he refers to works published by Ukrainians in the West, he does not always
discuss their statistics in relation to the data he has compiled from Polish sources. Thus,
on the basis of Polish governmental sources, Kacharaba notes that in 1926–38 76,560
people emigrated to Argentina from the five voivodeships in question. The breakdown of
that number according to religious affiliation is as follows: Roman Catholics, 20,658;
Greek Catholics, 14,497; Orthodox, 16,007; Protestants, 2,517; Jews, 22,683; and others,
198; and according to ethnicity: Poles, 20,658; Ukrainians, 30,504; Jews, 22,683; and
others, 2,715 (pp. 230–3). According to these figures, more Roman Catholics than Greek
Catholics emigrated to Argentina from Western Ukraine, and in proportion to their share
of the population in these five voivodeships, Poles emigrated at a very high rate. The
figures (pp. 190–3) show virtual parity in the number of Roman Catholics and Greek
Catholics emigrating to Canada from these voivodeships in 1926–38. The 79,480
emigrants to Canada were distributed by religious affiliation as follows: Roman Catholics,
27,670; Greek Catholics, 27,967; Orthodox, 8,076; Protestants, 4,333; Jews, 11,035;
others, 399. Kacharaba calculates that 27,670 of the emigrants to Canada from Western
Ukraine were Poles, 36,043 Ukrainians, 11,035 Jews, and 4,732 others.

This study draws on an array of sources. It embraces a number of issues pertinent
to the emigration experiences of the inhabitants of five voivodeships that are currently in

Ukraine, or, in one case (Polissia), mostly in Belarus. Historians will find the topic of Ukrainian emigration to Canada assessed in a wider context. The book would have benefited from a wider and more critical discussion of the compiled statistics, for the figures presented raise more questions than they solve. The researcher of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and Argentina also has at his disposal such Polish government sources as the *Maly Rocznik Statystyczny 1939* (Warsaw), from which he can learn how many emigrants of different faiths left Poland. *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891–1976*, ed. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, also has some useful data on Ukrainians who arrived in Canada with Polish passports.

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Serge Cipko
University of Alberta

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George Dzul. *Crossing Years*. Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Co., 2002. 146 pp.

George Dzul's novel is the story of a man's life, beginning on the eve of the Second World War and running to the end of the twentieth century. The story develops chronologically through five separate periods in the hero's life. The protagonist, Bud Mack, who changes his name several times in course of his life, is born in Western Ukraine in 1939, just before it is occupied by the Soviet forces. The Bolsheviks exile his mother in 1941. Throughout the war various strangers take care of Bud. He retreats west with the Wehrmacht in 1944–45 and ends up in a DP camp in American-occupied Germany. He attends an orphans' school at the camp and is supposed to be adopted, but runs away and lives with a group of smugglers. Through a series of twists and turns, he eventually ends up in a Christian mission in Detroit. At the age of seventeen he is adopted by a rich family, and is pressured into becoming a doctor. Increasingly repelled by medicine, Bud quits school and moves to Haight-Ashbury in 1967. In the 1970s, he becomes a secret agent for the United States, moves to Europe, and quickly becomes a document forger for Soviet defectors. In the mid-1970s he visits Ukraine on a forged Polish passport in an attempt to find his exiled family in eastern Russia, but the forgery is discovered. Bud then returns to the United States, where he starts a cleaning business. In 1990 he goes to the Soviet Union again in search of his family, but fails to find it. In the mid-1990s Bud winds up in Transcarpathia, where he meets and marries a woman with a son. They flee the region at the outbreak of civil unrest and end up in the United States. Bud makes a claim against his adopting family's fortune and wins. The novel ends with Bud returning to the South American island where his family had once owned an estate.

Although Dzul's novel has some strengths, it is largely a disappointing read. One of the most serious problems is that there are too many events packed into too short a space; hence, there is little room for character development. It is hard for the reader to understand why the protagonist acts as he does. Furthermore, most of the secondary characters are dull and one-dimensional. Bud's adoptive parents are a stereotypical rich American family: Mr. Mack is a doctor seeking political office, career-minded and uninterested in his children, while Mrs. Mack is the typical "trophy wife"—beautiful but

distant, emotionless, and indifferent. "And so she got what she loved time after time after time. Mrs. Virginia Mack never showed any sign of happiness or unhappiness" (p. 57). The only character with any complexity other than the protagonist himself is Grandpa Mack, the elder of the family and the one who made its fortune.

The main strength of the novel is its central theme. Dzul captures well the sense of melancholy detachment that many refugees must have felt after settling in the new country. Bud does not really belong with his adopted family in the United States. There is a sense of distance and disconnection between him and his adopted family. Nor does he belong in Ukraine, which he had left in childhood. It is this isolation that breeds malaise in the protagonist. Despite succeeding in several fields and leading an exciting life, he is never happy or content. As an adventure story, Dzul's *Crossing Years* is appealing, but readers who want deeper psychological involvement would do well to look elsewhere.

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а—a	і—i	т—t
б—b	ї—i	у—u
в—v	й—i	ф—f
г—h	к—k	х—kh
ґ—g	л—l	ц—ts
д—d	м—m	ч—ch
е—e	н—n	ш—sh
є—ie	о—o	щ—shch
ж—zh	п—p	ю—iu
з—z	р—r	я—ia
и—y	с—s	ь—omit
		ий—y in endings of personal names only.

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